

# Comment on the Week

VOL. LXXX, NO. 15, JANUARY 15, 1949

## Truman Fair Deal

Before a cheering, enthusiastic Congress, on January 5 President Harry S. Truman (in his State of the Union message) offered to the people of this country and to all the peoples of the world his "Fair Deal." We are living, he said, at the opening of an era either of great achievement or of terrible catastrophe; a time both of fateful responsibility and of glorious opportunity. From the course on which we have embarked there must be no turning back, for that course, admittedly difficult and challenging, alone leads to prosperity at home and peace throughout the world. We are conservative about the values and principles we profess. We must remain so. But we must be progressive in extending them. As we look back over the years, we can be proud of the material progress that we have made, and of the economic system which made it possible. But we cannot be satisfied. There are still too many people in this country who lack decent housing, adequate medical care, educational and economic opportunities and the expectation of a secure and happy old age. In many ways the Government must assume responsibility for the creation of a better society—but a *shared* responsibility. For shared responsibility is the way of our democracy. Between Government and business there must be cooperation; and workers and farmers must work together with Government. If we have teamwork at home, if we remain strong, if, above all, the blessing of God is with us, we shall meet successfully the greatest challenge any nation ever faced. To all our people and to all peoples everywhere we shall show the way to prosperity and peace. Such was the burden, such the historic sweep of the President's message to the new Congress. Even those who dissent from specific parts of his "Fair Deal" cannot but admire its essential soundness. It is in the best and truest American tradition.

## The Democrats grow up

Last month we sounded an alarm over the serious danger that conservatives would wrest the reins from progressives in the new Congress ("Will the Democrats grow up?" AM. 12/11/48, p. 254). The Democratic caucus in the House put an end to this threat by giving progressives a clear majority on the Democratic side of the Ways and Means Committee. These Ways and Means Democrats select the Democratic membership of all the other House committees. There is talk of raising the membership of the Rules Committee from twelve to twenty-one to insure that enough Northern Democrats get on it to be in control. The need for such maneuvers arises from the fact that Southern Democrats enjoy the highest seniority on committees. If they gang up with the Republican minority they can throttle the Truman program. The Rules Committee has had its wings clipped anyway. Maybe "crumpled" is the word.

## Hats off to Sam Rayburn

Members of the House wore their hats during sessions up to 1837. If they still did, they would have to doff them to Speaker Sam Rayburn. By putting through a change in House rules he has empowered the chairman of any committee to force the Rules Committee to report out for debate measures it has bottled up for twenty-one days. After that period any chairman can move to bring the measure to the floor. This motion requires only a simple majority vote of the House. Such a revolution in House procedure ranks with the famous "revolution of 1910-11." Led by the late "fighting liberal," George Norris, the rebels of 1910-11 dethroned tyrannical speaker "Uncle Joe" Cannon—only to set up another tyrant in the form of the Rules Committee itself. Since that date the Rules Committee has dictated to the House what legislation it could consider. No measure reached the floor for debate unless it had managed to squeeze out of that trap. National FEPC legislation got caught, and died. In 1946 the Rules Committee went so far as completely to rewrite a bill submitted to it by the Committee on Labor. What the Rules Committee reported out was its own Case Bill. From now on this Committee will cease to run an abortion mill for unwanted legislative babies. Unwanted, that is, by seven of the twelve members of this "traffic committee" of the nation's 435-member "popular" chamber of Congress.

## Shattered front on DP legislation

Taking the kinks out of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 will have priority in the 81st Congress. This time Congress will probably come up with legislation satisfactory to all but extremists like Dave Nussbaum and the American Jewish Congress. These want to shut the door on non-Jewish DP's because they would make "undesirable" citizens. More evidence of this extremist attitude has cropped up in the letter addressed to all the top men in Washington on January 2 by the National Community Relations Advisory Council. It was signed by leaders of major national Jewish organizations. On two major issues the letter goes far beyond the demands of the interfaith Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, which was supposed to represent the Jewish position during 1947-48. The Citizens Committee wants to define a DP as a person who entered a DP camp on or before April 21, 1947—the day General Clay ordered all camps closed to further admission—instead of Dec. 22, 1945. The 1945 cut-off date in the present law is plainly discriminatory, not only against most Jews, but against many Poles and Czechs. The Advisory Council now wants the cut-off date moved up to January 1, 1949. On the other issue of the Volksdeutsche, the expellees of German ethnic origin, the Citizen's Committee has made no recommendation. The Advisory Council now rages against the admission

of a handful of these pitiful creatures, whose treatment under the Potsdam agreement was labeled by Anne O'Hare McCormick "a crime against humanity," as "repugnant to the whole tradition of America," and "without basis in special need, greater urgency or other relevant or justifiable considerations." It is too bad that the Advisory Council and such estimable Jewish representatives as Judge Joseph Proskauer allowed themselves to be maneuvered into unilateral action which has shattered the united front heretofore presented by all religious and racial groups. For our part, we stand by what we have urged before. The total number of DP's admissible should be raised from 205,000 to 400,000. The cut-off date should be changed to April 21, 1947. Provisions for the Volksdeutsche should remain unchanged or be broadened. The clause mortgaging future quotas should be eliminated.

### **Economic prospects**

Though final returns are not yet in, enough is known to give a verdict on the nation's economic performance in 1948. Businesswise, the year just elapsed was the best in our history. When the last figure is totaled, the market value of all goods and services produced by business and Government (gross national product) will hit around \$253 billion. The national income will run some \$25 billion above last year's record-breaking \$202.5 billion. Business profits, after taxes, will reach a fabulous \$20 billion. Higher price levels explain some but not all of the gains over 1947. Physical volume of industrial production was up about five points on the Federal Reserve Board's index. As was to be expected, with this enormous output of goods and services, the boom seemed to be leveling off at year's end. For the first time since pre-war days, department stores were coaxing reluctant consumers with post-Christmas sales. Even in some lines of consumer durables—refrigerators, for instance—there were signs of a returning buyers' market. To some observers these were indications that the new year would be less prosperous than the old. But few were willing to venture a hard-and-fast prediction. If there was a consensus, it was this: 1949 would not be so good a year as 1948. Physical production, national income, corporation profits, all would be down a few percentage points. But wages and employment would remain steady. Judged by anything but last year's record, such results would mean an excellent year. Very few expected that the downward readjustment, if it came, would be sharp enough to constitute anything like a depression.

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### **Hooverizing backfires?**

The December 26 press release of the Hoover Commission's "task force" on Federal medical services turned its "spotlight" (their word) on "vacant" hospital beds and "overstaffing" in Federal hospitals located in the New York City area. All told, these hospitals were described as having a construction capacity of 8,257 beds. Only 6,949 were "in operation" and only 5,330 actually in use. To eliminate the waste of "hundreds of thousands of dollars," the report recommended the closing of four Army and Air Force hospitals. Some of their patients could be taken care of in three hospitals run by the Veterans Administration in the area. Another 335 could be accommodated in the Navy hospital (St. Albans), though this hospital is admittedly "temporary." Information supplied by the Director of the American Legion's N. Y. State Department of Rehabilitation flatly contradicts these figures. The Hoover Commission's data are those of July 1 last. The American Legion's are of November 30. Here are the variations in the three V. A. hospitals (HC means the Commission; AL, the Legion):

Hospital	Capacity	In Operation	Patients	Waiting List
Bronx (HC)	1,670	1,542	1,387	...
" (AL)	1,612	...	1,582	343
Halloran (HC)	1,500	1,125	1,005	...
" (AL)	1,325	...	1,285	600
Manhattan				
Beach (HC)	400	350	304	...
" (AL)	351	...	325	151

The Legion seems to have the Hoover Commission on the spot. Its figures show that the only vacancies are in a few beds in each hospital purposely kept free for emergencies. There are waiting lists in all Federal hospitals in the area (the Legion keeps records on such facilities throughout New York State). Besides, the medical needs of veterans and their dependents increase as they grow older. Since the Legion publishes monthly data, why did the Commission on December 26 mimeograph data six months old? Maybe some of the "task force's" proposals are sound. Maybe the Legion has its own axe to grind. But that present facilities are excessive and wasteful seems to be simply untrue. Has some other interest-group got its finger in this pie?

### **Union triumph—at a cost**

The weather in New York on New Year's Eve was beastly. An early afternoon rain turned to sleet and made all kinds of surface locomotion hazardous. To add to the danger, snow later fell. In these difficult circumstances, some 600 employes of the Hudson and Manhattan Railroad, all dues-paying members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, staged a "flash" strike. With only a two-hour warning to their employer, and with no warning at all to national union officials, they walked off the job at 2:50 P.M. and left the railroad to run itself. For four hours thereafter not a single Hudson and Manhattan train moved through the tubes which link lower Manhattan to Newark, Jersey City and Hoboken. Thousands of commuters, hurrying to their homes for the holiday, were put to no end of trouble to find other means of

transportation. Many were held up as much as two hours. The strike was caused by a company decision to dismiss fifteen employes, an action which, under the contract, the management apparently had a right to take. Maybe the management had no such right. Maybe, as the union charged, it was planning to fire not fifteen, but forty-three of its employes. Maybe it did not give the men sufficient notice. These issues are still obscure. But even if the management was as wrong as the union claims, the men were ill-advised to hit back at the company by penalizing its patrons. Under the circumstances, their action was irresponsible. Even though it accomplished its immediate objective and postponed the dismissals, it hurt all the organized workers in the country. A few more such victories would be more than labor can stand.

#### *The best unity of all*

The union of the free nations of the West: customs unions, economic union under the Marshall Plan—the drive for unity is in the air these days. We are beginning to realize as never before that the forces of justice *must* pull together against threatening tyranny. Best of all those forces is the might of united spiritual power. This year's celebration of Church Unity Octave is singularly in keeping with the spirit of the times. From the Feast of the Chair of St. Peter at Rome (on January 18) to that of the Conversion of St. Paul (on January 25), Catholics all over the world will pray that all churches may soon be one, namely Christ's own. At the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception at Washington, Archbishop Mar Ivanios of India will open the celebration in the ancient language of the Syro-Malankara Rite. Prelates of the Western Rite over all the world will lead their people; those of the Eastern Rites (responsible for having the Octave devotion make universal in the Church in 1922) will join their prayers for the unity of all God's children under one Shepherd. All these mitred heads bowing in such a prayer, in whatever tongue their Rites allow, is surely a splendid spectacle, but the power in the Octave will well from the massed prayers of *all* Catholics. Not only bishops and clergy, but the vast body of the laity will make this Church Unity Octave, God willing, the most fruitful ever for the one best unity that can be the basis of all others.

#### *Let the courageous speak out*

How many "thoughtful and ruthlessly honest" people are there in the world, the kind who recognize the spiritual crisis of the times? People of such character cannot consider the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty a sectarian matter. Acting Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett found the "patently false" charges against him a "sickening" affair. Dr. Guy C. Empie, executive secretary of the National Lutheran Council, sent the sympathy of 60,000,000 Lutherans to Hungarian Catholics. The Government of Eire petitioned the Hungarian Foreign Minister to allow a representative to visit the imprisoned prelate. The American Hungarian Federation asked Secretary of State Marshall to protest "this atrocity of Hungary's totalitarian Government." In the name of the Canadian hierarchy,

Archbishop Vachon of Ottawa has asked Louis St. Laurent, Canada's Prime Minister, to issue a similar protest. St. Laurent would be in a position to challenge the calumny that Cardinal Mindszenty was closeted with Otto of Hapsburg in a monastery "somewhere near Chicago on June 21, 1947." The Prime Minister sat beside the Cardinal at a dinner at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa that evening. Mindszenty's fellow Cardinals the world over expressed their horror, proclaimed their solidarity and arranged public prayers. The Vatican announced that all Catholics participating in the outrage had automatically incurred excommunication. An offer of the Hungarian Government to open direct negotiations with the Holy See was spurned as a "puerile maneuver." The release of Mindszenty and the restoration of freedom of religion, of the press and of schools must come first. From the imprisoned Cardinal no word has come since he was whisked away from his garden in Esztergom, breviary in hand. No word except the echo of his suppressed pastoral: "What we do is done for the liberty of our Church, for our suffering people, for the preservation of our youth and for peace." How many are interested in those issues? How many care that the last organized resistance behind the Iron Curtain—the Catholic Church—is being smothered?

#### *Aid to China—now*

Peace rumors are seething in battered China. In his speech of December 31, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek offered to step down if the Communists would sincerely promise peace. At the same time, he added conditions that make it unlikely that the Commies will compromise. He demanded respect for the present Constitution. The Commies have vowed to throw it out. They have to date spurned any idea of a negotiated peace. They are on the crest of the wave and determined on the "liberation" of the whole of China. Even if they were to cease fire now and negotiate a peace, any coalition government would be communist-dominated. Yet, desperate approaches are being made to them: the Shanghai City Council bypasses the Generalissimo and appeals for a parley. To top all this confusion and uncertainty, the U.S. Marines may be withdrawn. China is indeed abandoned. But we cannot abandon her. There is still time to save part of that unhappy land. At least South China, by prompt and vigorous U.S. policy and aid, can remain free. Better half of China free than all of China either inundated by Red armies or—what is little better—tyrannized over by a communist-dominated government. Even to save this half, the Administration must make up its mind (something not yet done) and move fast. Senator Tom Connally said on Jan. 2 that Europe has priority on our aid. But we must not forget that the saving of China can also be essential to our security.

#### *New Year for Indonesia*

New Year's Day brought the announcement from Netherlands spokesmen that fighting was at an end in Java, except against "rebellious elements." Dr. L. J. M. Beel, special representative of the Netherlands in Indonesia, said that 1948 had been a year of "constructive

work" in Indonesia, but "unfortunately" it had also been a year of unrest and fighting. He regretted that it has "proved impossible to restore unity by means of negotiations." The Indonesians were left stunned by the swiftness and efficiency of the Dutch action, while the leaders of the Republic were embittered by the UN's inability to come to their aid. They were disappointed at the embarrassed attitude of the United States. The Dutch looked forward to recovery from a severe but necessary operation, and a forward step towards a liberalized and politically purified colony. Their position was rational, remarked Charles Wolf, Jr. (whose article, "Communist surge in Southeast Asia" we published, AM. 1/1/49) in a letter to the New York *Times* of Dec. 31, far more rational than were the absurd charges of Machiavellian colonial ambitions hurled at them by Premier Nehru of India and other extremists. But rational as their view might be, it was inadequate to meet the growth of intense nationalism among heretofore suppressed peoples. Emergence of Australia and India as world Powers operating in the Asiatic scene; Russia's subtle blackmail, which skilfully helps each side to capitalize upon the faults of the other; the difficulties met with by both the United States and Great Britain in their Far Eastern policies—all put a completely different face upon Indonesia and other regions of Southeast Asia of today as compared with Indonesia of the nineteenth century.

### The agony of colonialism

The real alternatives in the case of Southeast Asia are not those which we have traditionally taken for granted: a choice between native, tribal anarchy or a wise and beneficent colonial government. Such might have remained the choice if the new nationalism of suppressed peoples had not developed in recent decades with ever increasing momentum. The liberally constituted, wisely governed colony is the reasonable and natural avenue of approach to responsible, independent government. But, for better or worse, the choice today is not between these two alternatives. It is a very somber and difficult choice between two types of completely native regime: one which has incorporated into its constitutions and its methods of administration the best that the West can offer of political democracy, social responsibility and religious reverence and freedom; or one which is but the passion-swept instrument of world revolution, capitalizing for its own ends upon resentments stored up and intensified during former years of Western misrule. Colonialism is not dead; it has tremendous vitality and derives new life from the prospect of the calamities that its sudden disappearance can engender. Yet it is also unable to live a normal life. No individual nation can solve this dilemma. The only answer lies in world federation.

### Puerto Rico's new governor

If colonialism is agonizing in the East, it is obsolete in the West. At least, "obsolete" was the term used by Luis Muñoz Marin, who on January 2 was inaugurated as Puerto Rico's first elected Governor. President Truman last year signed the Butler-Crawford bill making

this election possible. He hailed the January 2 election as a "fine example of democracy in action." For the first time since Ponce de Leon claimed Puerto Rico for the Spanish Crown 439 years ago, the Island could choose its Chief Executive. Puerto Rico is the first United States territory or possession to enjoy this power, which is rare among colonial peoples the world over. The new Governor won his overwhelming victory on the merits of a vast industrialization program. Parts of this program are already under way, with 10,000 new homes built near San Juan and 41 new industries already or soon to be signed up. Señor Muñoz Marin warned the U.S. industries attracted to the island by tax exemptions and cheap labor that sweatshop conditions would not be tolerated. Future tourists will benefit by the marvelous transformation of the island's water and sewage system in the last four years. It augurs well for social justice under the new administration that the inauguration was attended by the Island's two Catholic Bishops, by the Episcopalian Bishop of Puerto Rico, and by one of the most understanding observers Puerto Rico has had in the United States, the Rev. Raymond A. McGowan, director of the Social Action Department of NCWC.

### Prisoners of war: the lost men

Read this record of brutal indifference to human life and to pledged agreements. Russia claimed capture of 3,180,000 German prisoners during the war. At the meeting of Foreign Ministers in March, 1947, Molotov admitted that 890,532 were still held. At that time the Four Powers agreed to repatriate all POW's before January 1, 1949. From March, 1947 to March, 1948, Russian reports stated that 447,331 German POW's had been returned. After last March, Allied Control Council meetings in Berlin broke down. There have been no further Russian reports—and no further return of POW's. That leaves 443,201 Germans still in Russian prison camps. All the other countries (Poland excepted) had completed return of POW's before the deadline of New Year's Day. The Big Three demanded an accounting from the Soviets. What answer did they get? No figures, of course, on how many Germans are still POW's; only the charge that a Four Power plan could not be worked out by the Control Council because the Western countries would not include Germans they "retain to date, ostensibly [sic] working for hire in industrial establishments and agriculture." But repatriation had been solemnly agreed on long before any handling by the Control Council. Russia is simply falsifying the record and keeping half a million men in slavery. And perhaps an even greater number of Japanese are also in Soviet POW compounds. Here is work for UN's Commission on Human Rights.

### Vale atque Ave!

After thirteen years of most fruitful activity as President of Fordham University, the Rev. Robert I. Gannon, S.J., was succeeded in that office on January 6 by the Rev. Laurence J. McGinley, S.J., former Professor of Theology and Prefect of Studies at Woodstock College.

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## Washington Front

As the new session of Congress got under way, it seemed to many Administration Democrats as though President Truman's effective strength on Capitol Hill came close to matching FDR's in his early and felicitous days in Washington. But it probably was an illusion. It was true that, on first tests of strength, the back of the Southern rebel Democratic bloc seemed broken. The Republicans, as they sat there in the House in those first sessions, were a chastened lot of men, apparently still unsure of what hit them in the November election.

But there will surely come days in this session when the GOP will bellow again, and days when the sullen Dixiecrats will muster more than the thirty-one votes they flung against the Administration's successful move to limit the power of an arrogant House Rules Committee. It is worth noting that this first test was on procedure and, although it was important as an issue, it was the sort of issue likely to represent an abstraction to much of the public. There was no denying that Truman, Rayburn & Co. were off to an impressive start; but there would be harder tests ahead on such solid stuff as labor-law reform, housing, social security and the like.

There were manifestations of moderate insurgence among both Senate and House Republicans against Old

Guard leadership. Forty-nine Republicans broke away from Joseph W. Martin's House leadership to join the Democrats in establishing machinery to circumvent the Rules Committee in its attempts to kill legislation before the House has an opportunity to pass on it. But the sharper test came in the Senate when the Taft-Wherry-Millikin leadership smashed an attempt of such younger Republican senators as Baldwin of Connecticut, Ives of New York, Lodge of Massachusetts and Knowland of California to get recognition in the Party's leadership there.

That means the headlines for at least another two years will be built around Taft vs. Truman. Mr. Taft is the dominant personality on Capitol Hill, Democratic or Republican. Though he was the architect of some of the toughest provisions of the Taft-Hartley labor law, he is by no means as conservative as many of his Senate colleagues. He has limbered up in the last couple of years. To many it seems a stupid blunder not to give the Lodge-Ives-Baldwin group greater recognition, but it is just possible that pressure from this group now, plus the election lesson, may bend the GOP course in a more liberal direction. Mr. Taft is up for re-election in 1950, too.

The congressional machinery will be slow to get rolling. Democrats will extend rent controls, but will be chary of price controls because of price dips already in progress. There are signs organized labor will have trouble getting all it wants. The farmers seem likely to get a more generous parity formula than in last year's Aiken-Hope law.

CHARLES LUCEY

## Underscorings

The Church in communist-held China, said Archbishop Yu-pin of Nanking, "is operating underground." He was interviewed at the Hague by the Editor of the Dutch affiliate of Catholic Intercontinental Press. "The Holy See," he added, "has granted special permission for priests working in those parts to celebrate Mass with ordinary bread, without altar or candles, without a missal and without vestments . . . This means that Mass may be celebrated while the priest and the faithful are sitting around a table, as if for a simple breakfast." While the historically minded may find interest in this return to the conditions of the "Upper Room" in which Christ offered the First Mass on the eve of His Passion, they will not forget another parallel—that outside the Upper Room raged the enemies of the Christian name. In keeping with the January intention of the Holy Father, we should pray for our persecuted fellow Catholics, from Hungary to China.

► Richard Pattee, who has contributed a number of articles to AMERICA, especially on Latin-American affairs, is organizing a summer school for Americans at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland, to run from July 18 to Aug. 27. Courses will be offered covering: History and European Civilization; The Church in Europe; Main Cur-

rents of European Thought; Political Trends in Europe; Economic and Social Problems of Europe Today. Opportunities will be given for visiting various parts of Switzerland. Address inquiries to the Secretary, Summer School, University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

► Xavier Labor School, whose achievements were lauded in the November *Harpers*, has begun publication of a social action bulletin, *Xavier Detail* (30 West 16th St. New York 11, N. Y.). The *Social Action Notes for Priests*, itself a lively and informative job of mimeographing (Fr. George Higgins, Social Action Dept., NCWC) draws attention to a number of such publications, which provide an easy means of keeping in touch with what is happening in the field of social action, labor relations, etc. Some are: *Crown Heights Comment* (1150 Carroll St., Brooklyn 25, N. Y.); *Social Action Bulletin* (Diocesan Labor Institute, Highland Heights, Box 1224, New Haven, Conn.); *St. Joseph's College of Industrial Relations Bulletin* (18th and Thompson, Philadelphia 21, Pa.); *Catholic Action Priests' Bulletin* (3 East Chicago Ave., Chicago 11, Ill.); *Bulletin des Relations Industrielles* (Laval University, Quebec: in French and English); *Bulletin of National Commission on Catholic Action Study* (University of Dayton, Dayton 9, Ohio).

► Local 3, N. Y., of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) is founding a scholarship in honor of Fr. William J. Kelley, chairman of the N. Y. State Labor Relations Board, in gratitude for his brilliant job of supervising its elections last June.

C. K.

# Editorials

## Where we differ with the AMA

Our editorial, "AMA and the Christian conscience" (AM 12/18/48), touched some very sensitive nerves. We are accused of misrepresenting Catholic social philosophy and of giving aid and comfort to Socialists, and even to Communists. Our editorial opened with this paragraph:

Christian social philosophy teaches that the security and temporal prosperity of society and its members are the responsibility of the State. When a problem such as the nation's health exceeds the powers of individual or group action, intervention by the Government becomes not merely justified but morally imperative.

To anyone conversant with Christian ethics and with Catholic political and social principles, these propositions should be both clear and unexceptionable. But as the issue of compulsory health insurance promises to become sharper in the near future, we wish to avoid any unnecessary misunderstanding.

Catholic political and social thought regards the authority of the state as "supreme" in the temporal sphere. In his encyclical on *The Christian Education of Youth* (1929), Pope Pius XI declared:

Nevertheless, the family is an imperfect society, since it has not in itself all the means for its own complete development; whereas *civil society is a perfect society, having in itself all the means for its peculiar end, which is the temporal well-being of the community*; and so, in this respect, that is, in view of the common good, it has pre-eminence over the family, which finds its own suitable temporal perfection precisely in civil society (italics inserted).

The authority of the State is supreme in its proper domain because to it belongs what Pope Leo XIII called a "general superintendence" over all temporal concerns, for the common good. That is why our Federal Constitutional delegates to the Federal Government the power to "provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

The over-all authority of the State does not mean, of course, that the State should absorb all temporal human activities. Far from it. The State is supposed to provide the maximum amount of liberty for its citizens consistent with the general welfare of the community. The extent to which the State is obliged to intervene must be determined by its responsibility to protect and promote the common good. In general, this is the Christian ideal, as propounded by Catholic authorities: a pattern of *social organization*, encouraged and supervised and regulated by the State, in which the maximum amount of temporal well-being is achieved by the concerted activities of individuals and non-political social groups, and the minimum by direct State action. But it rests with the State—that is, the people politically organized acting through

their representatives—to judge when the non-political agencies of social organization are seriously failing to protect and promote the general welfare, and to propose and adopt suitable remedies, either by direct or indirect State action, or both. Surely, it is not for the AMA or the NAM to arrogate to itself the authority to make this decision. They must submit to the judgment of the people and their representatives, judging according to proper standards.

To anyone who doubts that this is a fair presentation of the Catholic position we might recommend the study of the chapters on the end and functions of the State in *Catholic Principles of Politics* by the Rev. Francis J. Boland, C.S.C., and the late Monsignor John A. Ryan. The papal statements on these questions are somewhat scattered, but they can be found in the very well indexed volume, *Principles for Peace*.

The question then arises: is the *health* of the community a temporal concern falling within the jurisdiction of the State as we have explained it?

This might seem an idle question. If health is not a temporal concern, what is? Certainly, adequate provision for national self-defense is the solemn responsibility of our National Government. National self-defense depends directly on the physical soundness of the nation's population. From this point of view, as well as that of the general welfare in time of peace, is it not plain to everyone that our Federal Government has a legitimate and necessary concern for the nation's health?

Finally, is there anything in the principle of *compulsory health insurance* which is at variance with Catholic political and social principles?

In regard to the general principle of compulsory social insurance, the answer is easy. Both in their *Program of Social Reconstruction* (1919) and in their statement on *The Church and Social Order* (1940) the American Bishops gave approval to that principle. The text of the former may be found in Monsignor Ryan's *Social Reconstruction* (1920). Both gave some approval to insurance against "sickness," which seems to have meant primarily against unemployment due to sickness.

In his chapter on "Social Insurance" in the above volume, Monsignor Ryan explicitly endorsed a compulsory health-insurance proposal introduced in the New York State Legislature in January, 1919, and passed by the Senate but killed by the Assembly.

In view of such a tolerant position, we wonder why Catholics in the AMA stigmatize such proposals as "sozialistic," and attack us for our editorial as if we were misrepresenting Catholic thought on this issue.

What alarms us is that Catholic doctors are being sold unsound, un-Christian and un-Catholic views of the nature, end and functions of the State by the AMA. This is

the reason why we are criticizing that body. There are enough arguments against a national system of compulsory health insurance without recourse to the discredited assumptions of Herbert Spencer's social philosophy. Why doesn't the AMA use them, instead of purveying doctrines offensive to Christian political thought?

## State bans on closed shop upheld

From a legal standpoint there seems little reason to quarrel with the two decisions of the Supreme Court on January 3 upholding State bans on the closed shop and, apparently, on all other forms of union security. Whether or not the union case was ineptly presented, as several distinguished labor lawyers have privately informed us, we are in no position to judge. But even the lay mind can appreciate why the Court could not accept the arguments on which the union attorneys relied.

In the first place they argued that a ban on the closed shop violates *indirectly* the rights of freedom of speech, of assembly and of petition guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution. To prove this point the lawyers reasoned somewhat tortuously that the First Amendment protects the right of workers to organize; that this right is illusory unless union members have a further right not to work with non-members, since otherwise they cannot eliminate the competition of non-union workers; that unless they can eliminate this competition, the union cannot achieve the purpose for which it exists, namely, to bargain with employers on a plane of equality. By way of corollary they added that the right of a non-unionist to work is in no way equivalent or parallel to the right to work *as a union member*. There is, they contended, no constitutional right at all to work as a non-unionist, whereas the right of union members to work is constitutionally protected.

To this contention the Court did not deem it necessary to answer in detail. It merely said:

There cannot be wrung from a constitutional right of workers to assemble to discuss improvement of their own working standards, a further constitutional right to drive from remunerative employment all other persons who will not or cannot participate in union assemblies.

Union attorneys argued in the second place that the State laws impaired the obligations of existing contracts in violation of Article 1, Section 10 of the Constitution. The Court, citing a number of precedents, sharply replied: "That this contention is without merit is now too clearly established to require discussion."

The labor lawyers charged that the anti-closed shop statutes "deprived the appellant unions and employers of equal protection and due process of law guaranteed against State invasion by the Fourteenth Amendment."

This contention was developed at some length. On two counts, it was advanced, the State statutes fail to give union workers equal protection of the laws. They strengthen the employer and weaken the union. And they discrim-

inate in the interest of the non-union worker as opposed to the union member.

The Court did not deny that banning the closed shop may weaken the bargaining power of the union, but it pointed out that other State laws weaken the employer and strengthen the union by outlawing "yellow-dog" contracts. With respect to the alleged inequality under the law between the non-union worker and the union member, the Court rejoined that the State laws forbade employers to discriminate against *both* union and non-union members. It added, with crushing effect, that it was precisely this equality of treatment which led the union attorneys to argue previously that the laws violated the First Amendment!

The last shot in the unions' campaign—an appeal to the due process clause—also rattled harmlessly off the judicial armor. The judges could find no infringement of due process in a law which forbade contracts to perform an illegal action. Since the Court had already decided that State laws banning the closed shop are constitutional, legislation to enforce the laws is likewise constitutional.

It should be noted that this decision does not mean that the closed shop is unconstitutional. Should the Congress authorize or permit closed-shop contracts, it is likely that all industries affecting interstate commerce could legitimately make such contracts despite State bans on them.

## Masaryk and Mindszenty

They were almost of an age—Jan Masaryk, the Czech, and Joseph Mindszenty, the Magyar, both of the bourgeoisie. Both rose to prominence in the belated social revolutions of Central Europe. Masaryk's broken body was found at 6:20 A.M., last March 10, on the stone-flagged court of the Czernin Palace in Prague. Mindszenty goes on trial for his life next month in the People's Court Building on Marko Street in Budapest.

History pushed both into the path of communism's relentless surge. Masaryk found no resources within himself to oppose its triumph. Mindszenty knew that, at the peril of death, defiance was demanded by God and by the canons of human decency.

Meeting the two men you might well have been more attracted to Masaryk. He was a rotund cosmopolite, a witty raconteur, an experienced and charming diplomat, a debonair, civilized European, genuinely interested in expanding the well-being of his fellow men. Intelligence, humaneness and generous compromise, he felt, were the solvents of all problems. History is being unkind to his type.

Joseph Mindszenty's family have lived in the village of Csehimindszenty for 300 years. From an unsophisticated farming home to an uncelebrated seminary at Szombathely to a normal curacy with religion classes to teach in the town's secondary school, to a pastorate at Zalaegerszeg, to organizing Catholic Action, to writing devotional literature and diocesan journalism, to the bishopric of Veszprem—his was an unspectacular career with a

routine recognition of standard clerical virtues: fidelity, energy, earnestness for the things of God.

During the war, Masaryk was the enterprising and entertaining Ambassador of the Czech Government-in-Exile. London, Washington and San Francisco delighted in his genial presence, his knowledgeable advice.

During the Nazi occupation of Hungary, Bishop Mindszenty busied himself with organizing new parishes and schools and, it is worth mentioning, publicly defying the German tyrant. He was jailed.

After the war Masaryk returned to Prague to become Foreign Minister. He declared:

I like the Russians; I can get along with them. I don't care what they are so long as our children are allowed to reach out toward heaven—a heaven without God, perhaps, but heaven, anyhow. But, honestly, if Czechoslovakia isn't able to stand on its own feet, everything goes.

Whether he jumped or was pushed from the bathroom of his third-floor apartment, his life had ended in defeat and despair. Czechoslovakia was unable to "stand on its own feet." Masaryk accepted in surrender the Gottwald coup. Cardinal Mindszenty's spiritual mandate permitted no such acquiescence in evil: "I have raised my voice against injustices committed by the Nazis; therefore I must also raise my voice against injustices now."

Jan Masaryk's father wrote the lesson nearly fifty years ago: "Modern Man in his equality with God either becomes a tyrant or joins the army of the despairing and dying." Cardinal Mindszenty wrote the Christian reply in his final pastoral: "Nothing can happen to us anywhere but what the Lord orders and permits. Neither life nor death can tear us away from the love of God."

## Mission fields on the campus

Airplanes and fast steamer lines, motor-cycles and jeeps, besides taking missionaries to their fields, are today landing in our midst representatives of some of the most intimate and important work in progress in the foreign missions. Apostolic work in these missions is not confined to traveling through the jungle with crucifix in hand. The larger part of it is pastoral and educational activity, much like that done at home. One of the most arduous phases of that activity lies in the field of higher education, especially professional and technical. The results of these enterprises in backward areas are now making their impact felt in world affairs.

Delegates from Rhodesia, Uganda and the Cameroons argued face to face with Belgian or Soviet delegates in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Young native men and women—lawyers, social workers, social scientists, agriculturists, physicians and engineers—are returning from Great Britain or the United States and laying before their own people a twofold pattern. The first is the story of things as they found them abroad: what they learned of the white man's schools, his race relations, his politics and his religion. They report on where Negroes went to church in New York or Brooklyn, what they learned in Texas about Mexicans or in Chicago about world affairs. They tell who are their friends here

and who will correspond with them in the future. The second pattern these envoys report consists of new proposals for their home lands: the message they will carry into the village, the mountain, the forest, the kraal, or the native colonial council; the message they will print in Malayan or Ibo or Haussa and will broadcast over equatorial radio stations.

What concerns us is that the young people channeling these programs are being formed right here in the United States, on the campus, in the parish and even in our homes. According to a report just issued by the Near East and African branch of the U. S. Department of State, for example, in 1948 there were registered in 111 different institutions in this country no less than 322 young men and women from eleven countries in Africa. These schools are located in 34 different States, about equally divided between the North and the South. Forty different fields of specialization have been chosen by these, with liberal arts, medicine, education, agriculture and engineering ranking highest.

These students need assistance in their native lands before they come here. They need counseling in the selection of the work they plan to undertake in this country. They need scholarships in our institutions. Arriving here, they need advice on contacts, on placement in colleges or universities, clearance of financial arrangements, counsel on vacation projects; in short, everything human and cultural that you would need if placed in a similar position. They fly directly out of the tribal world under the blazing tropical sun into our complex and sophisticated life. They do obtain plenty of counsel, of a sort, counsel that will spell no good to them, or to their countries, or to the peace of the world. They will absorb that evil counsel unless the right kind of men and women here will be enterprising, sympathetic and patient enough to introduce them into the finest pattern of American life, American morals and American religion.

Several important non-sectarian agencies are grappling with this problem—the Carnegie Corporation, the Committee for African Students in North America (CASNA) and the Institute of International Relations, recently bereaved by the tragic death on December 20 last, of its president, Laurence Duggan. Catholic colleges and universities have pronounced themselves eager to aid these youth by scholarships as far as their very limited funds permit. Only a handful of Africans in the United States are Catholics. The burden is one that the missionary societies cannot carry. Funds, organization and tremendous love and understanding are needed. There is a clear call for lay initiative. Students from "colonial" regions usually find vastly more opportunities to form useful and instructive contacts with non-Catholics than they do with Catholics. From this they draw obvious conclusions.

Through these visitors, the foreign missions are placed each year more and more at our door. And in their minds and hearts these young people carry back with them much of the future of the entire colonial and near-colonial peoples. If we are looking for an opportunity to help shape a peaceful, ordered world, here is one begging at our doors.

# *Open letter to General Marshall*

DEAR GENERAL MARSHALL: Your amazing wartime record for clear-sightedness and organizational ability set you on a pedestal that few save demigods attain. I have listened to service men who even this year still speak with reverential awe of your wisdom. In his excellent statement urging adequate aid to the Chiang Kai-shek Government which Walter Robertson, former U.S. Chargé d'Affaires at Peiping, gave to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on March 4, 1948, he said of you: "I consider that General Marshall is one of the great men of our time. . . . He has a fine, thorough mind. He has unimpeachable integrity. He has selfless objectivity possessed by few people I have ever known."

Yet the quasi-veneration our people have for you as a war leader seems to have obscured their vision on your record as a statesman, particularly in your dealings with the China problem. May I venture a few extremely unpleasant truths which, though offensive, may even at this late hour prevent you from causing further disaster to millions of people, including our own?

There is a traditional belief among a large group of Old China Hands that, since China is so different from Europe or America, no man's opinion about China should be treated seriously until he has been out there at least ten years. And even then. . . ! You spent the better part of only one year in China, and when good President Truman bows to you therefore as the leading authority on that country, it makes some of us smile. But our smiles fade as we note that you are determined, with all the power of that inflexible will which brought Germany and Japan to their knees, to continue a course of action which has proved to be clearly wrong, General, hopelessly, tragically wrong, ruinous for Christianity, for China, and perhaps ultimately for America.

A few months ago in Shanghai I was dining with an old friend who had just returned from three terrible years under the Chinese Reds a couple of hundred miles from there. He told me simply and dramatically how they had used his church for their meetings and their comedies, draping over the high altar not the Chinese but the Russian flag, with its hammer and sickle, with the words not in Chinese characters but in Russian: "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The songs the soldiers sang all day long were sung to Russian, not Chinese, tunes, for he had once taught in a Russian school in Shanghai and recognized them. He told how all the foreign news in their local papers came from Moscow, and how tenderly these Chinese spoke of Russia as a paradise on earth until he mentioned that he had traveled through Russia on his way to Europe a few years previously and hadn't found it so. After that, he said, uncouth Chinese Reds used to crowd into his house at any hour of the day or night to inspect everything, including his private papers, and borrow whatever they took a fancy to. Woe to him if he tried to keep his door or anything else locked

up! When the church was filled with their comrades, they used to come to his room and lie down uninvited for the night. Sometimes he had to say his Mass in the morning there with a half a dozen Reds snoring about his feet.

Of course, the Chinese Reds had an agrarian program. The lands were divided up, with beggars and loyal Red soldiers from other regions getting the choice portions. But don't think that anyone received deeds to his newly acquired land. In the second half of 1947, within five months, the land was taken back and redistributed no less than four times to men who were currently more in favor with the Red Government.

Accounts of this sort are not new to missionaries. Almost since the Chinese Communist Party was founded back in the early 1920's under the inspiration of a Mr. Voitinsky, sent from Moscow for that purpose, we missionaries have seen Chinese communism close up, at work in town and village and countryside. We have therefore never had any illusions about the character of the Chinese Reds, and have all along known their subservience to Moscow. It was thus not without misgivings that we saw you coming to China, with your tremendous prestige, to bring peace to the country by establishing a coalition government at Nanking. You did not ask for that mission, I know. Doubtless you had very little to do in outlining it. We did not blame you then; after all, wartime collaboration with Russia still lent some hope for

peacetime collaboration. And surely a man of your intelligence would quickly recognize that bringing the Chinese Reds into an American-backed Nanking government would not solve our China problems for long. We remained unimpressed by your apparent initial success in obtaining a peace agreement. We were sorry for you: through no fault of your own, you did not yet understand Chinese ways.

You were, you recall, badly disillusioned when both sides failed to keep their agreement. Had you known the Orient better, that is exactly what you would have expected. When an Old China Hand from Europe expressed wonder at your Peace Team idea, according to which American colonels (most of whom knew neither the Chinese language nor the Chinese psychology) went about the country accompanied by a Chinese Red and a Chinese Nationalist to stop armed conflicts here and there, I remember defending you by saying that though it seemed a queer idea, you were a brilliant man and must have some far-sighted reason for this project. You see, to us old-timers out there it was as if the Generalissimo were to send off to America a flock of Chinese colonels who didn't know English or understand American psychology and tell them to bring about peace be-



tween John Lewis and the U.S. mine-owners. Was General Marshall lacking in a sense of humor?

All the time you were in China we were holding our breath for fear you might succeed in your coalition scheme. Had a Communist been given charge of the Ministry of Education, for example, what would have happened to our mission schools? You see, we knew the Chinese Communists well, and you apparently did not. Fortunately you failed in your mission, and we breathed more easily. Had you not then been appointed Secretary of State, all would doubtless have been well. Americans are willing to try anything once. A new and more intelligent policy could have been adopted, and a working solution—which is all anyone can expect in present-day China—could have been found. But, unaccountably, you were rewarded for your failure, and to our consternation you immediately set out to prove you had been right all along.

From there on, I think you must largely shoulder the blame for what has happened to U.S. interests in the Far East. General Wedemeyer, one of the very few big Americans who has succeeded in China in recent years, was to have been appointed ambassador—an excellent choice—but at the last moment his appointment was canceled because, I understand, the State Department pinks who were influential in formulating China policies knew that Wedemeyer was anti-communist, which would mean that the policy of a coalition government would have had to be scrapped. *That was the fatal turning point for China.* What has happened since is simply the logical result of following wrong counsel.

What should or should not be done to protect and advance American interests in China is a matter of opinion. What was the traditional U.S. policy out there, though, is a matter of record. We have merely to compare your State Department's policy with the fifty-year-old Open Door Policy which preceded it, to see how diametrically the two are opposed. Our Open Door Policy guaranteed China's territorial integrity. It was once considered vital to America's interests to ensure that China be neither swallowed up by any foreign Power nor divided up into spheres of influence by different outside Powers. This traditional policy has been reversed in recent years by men in our Government (for reasons best known to themselves) and their new policy is not recognizably American at all. How did it originate?

Over ten years ago Comrade Stalin stated that a most important tactic in the policy of the Communist Parties is the tactic of the united front. G. Dimitrov then explained that this is the first step by which Communists propose to overthrow the established order. The tactic is Machiavellian. The Reds enter, not to cooperate, but to conquer. They sow suspicion, divide, weaken the opposition forces until these are utterly exhausted. Then the Reds either capture control for themselves or else utterly ruin the organization or the government they have entered. You are well aware that the postwar experience in Italy, France and elsewhere has proved that it is impossible to get along with Reds in any Popular Front government. Chiang Kai-shek knows that, having twice

before yielded to communist pressure and allowed Communists to join his government. When you have the leisure to reflect on the events of the past few years, General, I think you will realize that the policy you have so strongly advocated for Chiang's China, the policy backed by the power of our press, was never really in the American interest at all but played into the hands of Soviet Russia.

It is now generally admitted that the Soviets duped President Roosevelt, who thought that by giving them all they needed during the war and not demanding any particular guarantees in return, he would be able to win their grateful cooperation in his postwar program for peace. Stalin took everything, while doubtless marveling at the President's simplicity. Were Mr. Roosevelt alive today I'm sure he would have long since realized how badly he was tricked and would have lost no time in correcting his mistake.

Have you noticed that Moscow is strangely silent about what is happening in China? Why? Perhaps, because if she spoke out, you would realize that the policy for which you are now largely responsible, though you did not initiate it, is and has been since 1945 working out definitely against the vital interests of China and of Americans in the Far East, and almost entirely in favor of Soviet Russia. I make no accusations against you, General. I am simply stating facts. You must be astute enough to draw your own conclusions. Do you consider it impossible that the man who successfully beguiled President Roosevelt may not also be duping General Marshall into helping him in Asia while fighting him in Europe?

The American people have such confidence in you that they believe you always know best. Behind you in Asia stands the majority of the American press, which, while loyally presenting the American side against the Communists in the Berlin dispute, seems to have failed badly on that score in the Orient. Do you recall how we laughed when the official Russian propaganda presented the surrender in Tokyo Bay, with General MacArthur and other allied commanders blocked out and the Japanese surrendering to Russia alone? To present a true, but only partial, view like that falsifies the whole picture. That is what our press is doing in China. No one who knows the Nationalist Government out there is very enthusiastic about it. By U.S. standards it is corrupt, very corrupt, even though, as anti-Kuomintang Hu Shih admits, by Chinese standards it is one of the best Chinese governments in centuries.

Our foreign correspondents have harped on the word *corruption* as if that were the all-important point. I have heard men say that nothing could be worse and more corrupt than the present Chinese Government. Such critics err by adopting the wrong terms of comparison. Of course, if they compare it with our Government, it may seem hopeless. But if they compare it with the three other governments that have operated in China in the past decade, it's another story. I have personally lived for years under three of those four governments, and can testify that Chiang's, unsatisfactory as it is, was far better to live under than either the Japanese military govern-

ment or the puppet regime they set up at Nanking. Hundreds of our Catholic missionaries have lived under the Chinese Reds from one to ten years, and when they return to the freedom of Nationalist areas they say it is like coming back from hell to heaven. These men know what they are talking about; too many of the severest critics of Chiang do not. It is logical to conclude, therefore, that while Chiang's government is not good, at least it is by far the lesser of two evils. You yourself, General, admitted before the House Committee last spring that at present there is no alternative to Chiang's government but the Reds. Is it not grossly unfair, then, for so many of our correspondents to concentrate on smelling out the shortcomings of the Nanking regime, while saying not a word about the far worse shortcomings of the Red government?

Detailed information on Red shortcomings is available for anyone who wants it in China. All he has to do is ask any Catholic bishop or the superior of any convent out there; or, if he prefers, he may contact the American headquarters of any one of a dozen mission organizations. From an American standpoint the Nanking Government is at least sound in theory, with a constitution that has been highly lauded by our authorities. In practice, of course, there is plenty that is un-American. What is wrong is largely traditional with Chinese governments, for example, exorbitant squeeze and nepotism, which latter makes for gross inefficiency in government, but which has been passed down as a virtue in China, where loyalty to one's family comes first. Nearly every American official who goes to China, ostensibly to save the country from the Reds, soon gets so interested in trying to re-fashion the Government that he forgets entirely he was not sent out there to *reform* it but to *help* it win the war. You were no exception, General. Before the House Committee last March Mr. Bullitt, speaking of Generalissimo Chiang, stated: "He has around him in his Government today, in the most important positions, *men that General Marshall asked for*, e.g., the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Minister of Communications and the Minister of Economic Affairs." If the Government you seem to have picked personally isn't working, don't lay all the blame on Chiang.

Now take a look at the Red regime. From an American standpoint it is hopeless both in principle and in practice. Pink correspondents have told us the Reds are honest. They were for a time, in small things, as our missionaries testify. They would rarely steal a watch or a fountain pen—in fact, nothing smaller than a church building, a school or the entire rice crop of a newly invaded county. These Reds used to scream out against landlordism, though somewhat illogically, since they themselves quickly became the biggest landlords in China by confiscating land right and left, to distribute to whom they wished and take it back again at will. In Red China as in Red Russia, the use of secret police and terrorism is a basic principle. Though they aim at making a good impression on the people at the outset—"at first sweet, afterwards bitter," as the Chinese put it—when they are in full control there is no inviolable right to one's private property,

to security in one's home, to personal freedom, freedom of speech, of the press, of unhampered religious worship, to a just trial—witness the iniquitous "people's courts" our missionaries have often observed or been subjected to—or in general to life, to liberty or to the pursuit of happiness. The above practices, which have been noted over and over again by competent witnesses in all parts of Red China, are quite contrary to every American instinct. These practices are not characteristic of Nationalist China. Yet most of our correspondents have led the American public to believe Nationalist China alone is corrupt. It requires little perspicacity, General, to determine which of these two regimes is the lesser of two evils.

You first came to China with the idea, furnished ignorantly or maliciously, by someone in our Government, that the Soviet Union was a peace-loving democracy and

the Chinese Communists were mere agrarian reformers who had no connection with Moscow. We could have told you then—General MacArthur and General Wedemeyer could have told you—that both notions were incorrect. I do not think you hold either of them today, for even the State Depart-

ment now admits, after all these years, that the Chinese Reds are in fact real Reds.

But Freda Utley claims that you have continued to believe "that the Chinese Communists could be 'weaned away' from Russia"—which would imply that Mother Russia had originally spawned them. *This possibility of weaning the Chinese Reds is perhaps the most dangerous idea that patriotic Americans have to face today on the China front.* Was it original with you, or did it come from communist propagandist Chou En-lai? We find him in Lauterbach's *Danger From the East* speaking as if the Reds were about to confer some great boon on a grateful America, that after expected Red victory in China, "we might even want to borrow money from you!" This same idea crops up in a December 2, 1948 report by Waldo Drake from Hong Kong: "Marshal Li Chin-hen, who aspires to be China's next President, thinks that the oncoming communist government will welcome even America's material assistance in China's regeneration." Owen Lattimore, acknowledged chief of the anti-Chiang group among Americans, in a December 1 interview in the *Los Angeles Times*, comes up with the identical idea: it is "too late for American aid to save China. Now there remains only straight relief or economic aid which would give us a re-entry eventually with whatever government comes up." Lattimore, says the report, looks for a coalition government dominated by the Reds.

Major General David Prescott Barrows, former president of the University of California, on the same subject quotes a recent *Newsweek* statement: "The State Department is casting about for ways of *making friends of any regime that may emerge if Chiang is forced out*," perhaps "a Tito-type orientation among these Chinese Commu-

nists," which Department experts are now studying. And then he lashes out at them: "If these fellows, whose names are unknown to us, had any sense of shame they would go and jump in the Potomac. For they have not only proved themselves to be incompetent, but the betrayers of a 50-year-old American policy of standing by Nationalist China, protecting her 'territorial integrity' and preserving 'the Open Door.' " In other words, General, there are Americans in high places who balk at preventing the collapse of Chiang's anti-communist government, and who seem over-eager to aid, with U.S. funds, a communist, or a communist-dominated United Front. Without money from the American taxpayer, they realize, their long-awaited Red regime will have a tough time of rehabilitating the China it has ruined. And it may take a lot more millions to keep it going than it would to save our old friend, Chiang. Are you going to let Moscow dupe us into financing her puppet states?

But you say your plan is to *wean* these Chinese Reds away from their Mother Russia. Has it never come home to you, General, what a terrible scourge you would be inflicting on the unfortunate millions of China by thus encouraging these Red rascals and their totalitarian tyranny, particularly if you would subsidize them with American gold? One is amazed that such an idea could find place in the thinking of an American.

A few weeks ago, George Sokolsky, who knows his China well, wrote:

George Marshall dislikes Chiang Kai-shek because he is so obstinate and those who surround him are crooked. Chiang is obstinate because he insists that he understands the Chinese Communists and that George Marshall and the American Ambassador to China, J. Leighton Stuart, do not. . . . Because these otherwise intelligent men failed to understand each other, Soviet Russia will probably conquer China and the United States will be short of rubber, etc.

If your attitude towards China is really due to a personal grievance, the news is shocking. Surely America's idol hasn't such feet of common clay. For God's sake, General, change your present ideas and return to America's traditional policy in the Far East. Why shouldn't you, who have been so critical of Chiang Kai-shek for not cleaning up his Government, set a good example by cleaning out the flock of incompetent and disloyal men in your own State Department who have led you astray and who have too long been drawing salaries from the U.S. Government which they should have been drawing from Moscow? We pray that you may get the light and the strength from heaven to realize before it is too late your terrible responsibilities before history and before God.

(REV.) JAMES F. KEARNEY, S.J.

(*Father James F. Kearney, S.J., took his theology at Hastings, England, and was ordained at Lyons, France, in 1928. During his eighteen years in the Chinese mission field, he taught at Ricci College, Nanking, and later at Gonzaga in Shanghai; served as Executive Director of the Catholic Radio League in Shanghai for twelve years and edited the Catholic Review in Shanghai for ten years.*)

## The Mass for the masses

John LaFarge, S.J.

When Thomas Merton was busy climbing up his *Seven Storey Mountain*, he bought himself a fine, four-volume gilt-edged Roman breviary, and boldly set to work to recite it. The Latin did not trouble him much but the complexities did, and he had to appeal to his ghostly adviser to help him out.

Clerics are accustomed to look upon the breviary's intricacies as part of their priestly initiation, and so take them more or less as a matter of course. But when a layman happens to become breviary-minded—which does occur, every now and then—he is apt to bring to one's mind the question whether so many complexities are really necessary. Obviously they cannot be lessened except by certain changes or reforms, and this inspires the further question: what should our attitude be toward any changes or reforms in matters liturgical? For the breviary is part of the liturgy.

Of course some one may say: why bother to have any attitude at all? The liturgy is something that the authorities of the Church take care of, and only the Lord knows all the harm that has been done and can be done by would-be reformers and busybodies in such a sacred matter, the type that are ever "eager in their search for novelty" (*Mediator Dei*, 8).

But a wrong-minded and meddlesome love does not exclude the possibility of a rational and humble love, and love for the liturgy is love for Christ Himself, in His Church, in His Mystical Body.

The sacred liturgy is . . . the public worship which our Redeemer as Head of the Church renders to the Father, as well as the worship which the community of the faithful renders to its Founder, and through Him to the heavenly Father. It is, in short, the worship rendered by the Mystical Body of Christ in the entirety of its Head and members. (*Med. Dei*, 20.)

Christ is present, says Pope Pius XII, in the *Mass*, in the *Sacraments* and in the *prayer of praise and petition* which we direct to God.

For private persons to undertake reform of the liturgy is to misunderstand the very nature of the Church. I once knew a converted Anglican minister, an ardent ritualist, who was mildly annoyed that the Church of Rome would not allow him to work out sympathetic color sequences in the daily use of the sacred vestments, as he had enjoyed doing in his Anglo-Catholic days. Good intentions cannot make up for mistakes in this respect. "The Sovereign Pontiff alone," explains the Pope (*Med. Dei*, 58), "enjoys the right to recognize and establish any practice touching the worship of God, to introduce and approve new rites, as also to modify those he judges to require modification." And he adds: "Private individuals, therefore, even though they may be clerics, may not be left to decide for themselves in these holy and venerable

matters, involving as they do the religious life of Christian society along with the exercise of the priesthood of Jesus Christ and the worship of God."

But the fact that the Church reserves to herself and her own supreme authority the right to make such changes does not mean that there may not be improvements and developments, from time to time, in the garments with which the sacred liturgy is clothed. The Mass itself and the sacraments, and the great structures of the Church's service of prayer and praise remain unaltered and unalterable; but from time immemorial, says the Pope, the ecclesiastical hierarchy has exercised the right of furthering development in matters liturgical. This is clearly explained by the Encyclical:

The sacred liturgy does, in fact, include divine as well as human elements. The former, instituted as they have been by God, cannot be changed in any way by men. But the human components admit of various modifications, as the needs of the age, circumstances and the good of souls may require, and the ecclesiastic hierarchy, under guidance of the Holy Spirit, may have authorized.

Several such changes have taken place right in our own time. Pope Pius X completely redistributed the Psalms of the Church's daily office, and restored the Sunday Masses to their honored place in the Church calendar. Our present Holy Father has taken the bold step of authorizing a completely new translation of the Psalms and Canticles, and, furthermore, allowing the new version to be incorporated in the Breviary.

In the Paris *Etudes* for November, 1948, Father Paul Doncoeur, S.J., pleads for a clearer understanding of the real issue in liturgical reform:

We can put up with a certain formalism, a certain amount of routine, in the procedure of parliaments or law courts. But man's intercourse with God needs to be fulfilled "in spirit and truth." This was the occasion of the deadly conflict between our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the rabbinical priesthood. It is certainly true that the essential acts of the liturgy are like a flawless crystal center for divine worship. But these acts are clothed in gestures, ceremonies, rites and language which are the product of religious pedagogy. This external garment is justified when it develops and creates entirely satisfactory forms. But we have no ground to assume that it corresponds necessarily to the conditions of social life as they are today.

The fact that the Church reserves to her highest authority the right of making any changes in the forms of the liturgy does not, therefore, rule out the possibility of such changes being made. It only means that they shall be done in the proper way, and not by unauthorized persons. The Church fosters the activity of genuine learning and prayerful initiative in studying possibilities of reform and recommending them to the proper authorities. That one extreme must be avoided does not canonize the other extreme of rigidity for rigidity's sake.

True loyalty to the Church's interests will demand not a neglect of these questions, but a humble and scholarly approach to them. It will require that they be handled by men thoroughly versed in every type of sacred discipline. It also requires that these men should not be pedants or

dwellers in ivory towers, but should be apostolic souls, alive to the changes that have taken place in the living conditions of modern mankind and to the extraordinary temptations and difficulties of the present moment. The experiences of the last war, and the unusual measures the Church took toward providing for Mass and the sacraments upon the battlefield, on the sea and even in the air, show how alive and ready to act is the Church when these problems are brought to her attention.

And there is a still deeper issue, which also claims the earnest and prayerful attention of these same scholars: the extraordinary need in these days of cultivating, emphasizing, dramatizing, popularizing for the masses and the millions the mystery of Christ's Mystical Body and its message of world unity, with the relation to it of the

Eucharistic Sacrifice; and not only of dramatizing and popularizing the Mass for the masses, but of bringing them into the Sacrificial Action, as participants. They must be drawn in from the highways and byways into God's House of Prayer, into

an intimate participation both inwardly and outwardly in the Living Sacrifice, until God's House is filled.

In his recent work, *The Mass of the Future* (Bruce, 1948, reviewed by Father Duff, AM. 12/11/48), Father Gerald Ellard, S.J., professor of liturgical theology at St. Mary's College, Kansas, studies the many ways by which the Eucharistic Sacrifice of the Mass—the central and principal part of the liturgy—could be made more intelligible for the masses of the people, and easier for them to participate in, than is the case at present. Much greater development of congregational worship, whether in song or at least by some form of "dialog" participation; a "rationing" of Requiem ("black") Masses in favor of greater fidelity to the Mass of the day; arrangements—architectural and rubrical—for the simultaneous celebration of Masses by priests attending large celebrations or conventions—these are some possibilities that he envisions: all of them supported by precedents and the approved example of individual Ordinaries.

The fact that the *Mediator Dei* so vigorously and specifically warns against abuses in this type of action makes the path all the clearer for such changes as would not fall under the censured categories. It leaves the Church so much the freer, to use the words of Pope Pius X, *liturgiae plures tractus, supervacaneis rebus expediti, aptius disponere*: "to make a better arrangement of various parts of the liturgy, after having liberated it from irrelevant matters."

A widening of the conditions under which there would be permitted the celebration of Holy Mass in the evening, in Father Ellard's view, "in one short generation would permit Christ, our Eucharistic Lord and Master, swiftly to extend His Mass reign over millions and millions of people, who would hail with joy His afternoon or evening advance, whereas their work had prevented them from coming in the morning."

In this connection he notes how Pope Pius XI gave leave for midnight Mass on the occasion of a Eucharistic Congress in 1924; later in the same year he allowed a locally important Eucharistic celebration to have nocturnal Mass at 12:30 A.M., if preceded by about three hours nocturnal adoration. The same Pope granted an indulst for afternoon and evening Mass for persecuted Catholics under Russian rule (Nov. 25, 1929), with the communion fast beginning at noon. Further extensions were then made. In 1935, at the Grotto of Lourdes, Masses were celebrated continuously around the clock; and the present Holy Father, then Cardinal Pacelli, Secretary of State, expressed his profound joy at this Lourdes celebration.

Extraordinary—from this standpoint—facilities were granted prisoners and soldiers in the late war. In 1942:

Archbishop (later Cardinal) Spellman, as Military-Bishop of all the armed forces of the United States, petitioned the Holy See that military personnel, prevented from attending Sunday morning Mass, might have Mass up to 7:30 in the evening on Sundays, and evening Mass on weekdays without restriction. His Holiness graciously acceded to this sweeping permission (Apr. 30, 1942). (Ellard, p. 336.)

I have myself visited a parish in Germany where evening Mass is regularly celebrated for the parishioners, with the greatest fruit and edification.

By a decree of March 11, 1948, all mission Ordinaries in Japan may permit afternoon Mass when Christians are unable to attend in the morning. A similar privilege has been asked of the Holy See for seamen (*Orate Fratres*, Dec. 26, 1948).

Much harm could be done by hasty or premature action in such a matter, and any change would need to take carefully into account any repercussions it might produce upon the already frequented morning Masses and the habits of those who can attend at an early hour. But with all this granted, we can also remember that over-caution in dispensing the mysteries of the Faith may be quite as much a form of imprudence as lack of caution. (Jansenism's grim warning is ever with us.) It would have been the height of folly, as is now universally recognized, to have exerted such over-caution about making the Mass and the sacraments available to armed forces and their victims during World War II. So may not the same consideration apply to us during what we so glibly call peace, but in reality is the "cold war"?

In our wrestling with propaganda-armed "Principalities and Powers," in our struggle against the tidal wave of naturalism, sensuality and secularism, drastic methods need to be used that were little thought of in more normal and happier times. The Church Militant is the Church Resourceful, and her infinitely greatest resource is the Saviour offered as living Victim in the Mass itself.

What makes this particularly urgent is the immense change that has taken place in our living conditions. One of the greatest practical obstacles to the evening celebration of the Eucharist, that of night's darkness itself, has been greatly lessened by modern methods of lighting and of transportation. This, in turn, along with all the habits that go with industrialized life, is effecting a radical change in people's attitudes toward the alternation of day

and night. These habits may be good or bad, but they are here to stay. "Why should only the enemy of God be allowed to make use of these changes?" asked an old French curé of me as we peered around his dim fourteenth-century church. Why, indeed? I have no blueprint for liturgical improvements, and I am fearfully incompetent to offer one. But I do believe that it is not necessarily a love of novelty, but a very necessary prudence and ordinary wisdom, that would make us take some very active and radical measures to bring the Mass much closer to the people than it is at the present time.

## Beacon in the Near East

**J. Franklin Ewing**

In the fifth century A.D., Saint John Chrysostom wrote a letter addressed to a monk named Marun, who resided near Apamaea, on the Orontes River in Syria. If a twentieth-century successor of the saint were to attempt to write to all the Maronites—members of a Rite named after Mar Marun—he would be compelled to address his envelopes to thousands of groups on all the five continents and many islands. But it is the situation of the Maronites at home, of the some 325,000 of them in the Lebanon, that ought to be made known and that will be discussed here.

A large monastery was reared over the hallowed cell of Mar Marun; the people who looked for leadership to the monks of that monastery gradually became known as Maronites, and achieved separate identity and a consciousness of solidarity as a Rite. Numerous tribulations, following on the Mohammedan invasion of Syria in 638, urged this folk to move to the beautiful but barren, and hitherto uninhabited, heights of the Lebanon mountains. In the eighth century there were Maronite churches there; certainly, by the tenth century, the Maronites were firmly ensconced in their new and difficult terrain.

There—in the relative isolation of the region about the gorge of the Kadisha, the Holy River—was consolidated the core of the nation; there the Maronites went through their formative period and developed their distinctive Christian way of life. An agricultural people, they exhibited the simplicity, the sobriety and strength of men of the soil. A Christian people, they were permeated with piety, and with a great respect for a high-minded and active hierarchy.

As time went on, a society which was feudal in nature evolved from the simple scene; but the functional power of the hierarchy, especially that of the Patriarch, has always had to remain primary within the feudal framework, since it must protect and unite the people against dangers from within and from without. Except for sporadic and not too profitable interferences, the Arab and Turkish rulers of the Near East allowed the nation internal freedom of action; and except for an annual tax

paid to the overlords of the district, the Maronites were for long an independent nation.

History has forged the Maronites into a "rite-nation." The evaluation of this reality is of basic importance in the understanding of their present position. A Maronite, we may well say, is attached to the Universal Church through the medium of the Maronite Rite; he is a citizen of the Republic of the Lebanon through the medium of his status as a Maronite.

#### WESTERN OUTLOOK

From the time of their fraternal cooperation with the Crusaders, the Maronites have been increasingly influenced by the West. Theirs, for example, is the most Romanized of all the Eastern liturgies. Several factors contributed to their Western outlook. Interaction with the West came through the clergy; and the activities of France, designed to cast that country in the role of protector of Near Eastern Christians, encouraged an Occidental orientation. The educational system was completely on a confessional basis (as it still is, to a large extent), and a significant share of that system was manned by French priests, brothers and sisters. The American University of Beirut, originally a Protestant institution, though now almost as secular as any American undenominational school, had much to do with influencing the future Lebanon as a whole, but its effect on the Maronites was an indirect one. Large-scale emigration also played its part in turning Maronite eyes westward. Some emigration to nearby countries began after the 1869 massacres; but in 1890 notable numbers of Maronites began to leave the country and to settle down in foreign parts, especially in the two American continents. It is estimated that in the first twenty years of this century 15,000 persons emigrated each year. Inevitably, some of these emigrants returned to the homeland, and brought back products and ideas with them. Those who did not return maintained by correspondence the strong family bonds so characteristic of the Orient.

After the First World War, the Arabic-speaking sections of the old Turkish Empire were divided into several countries. The Lebanon was established as a separate domain; eventually, the Republic of the Lebanon was created, under French mandate. The new country, considerably larger than the old Turkish *villayet* of Mount Lebanon, includes the mountain range of the Lebanon, the littoral of the Mediterranean, the valley between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon Mountains (up to the crest of the latter); and the low mountains south of the Beirut-Damascus railroad were joined to it.

The cities of the littoral are of mixed population, some predominantly Moslem, such as Tripoli. The Bekaa' (what the Greeks called Coele-Syria) between the two ranges of mountains is quite largely Moslem and non-Maronite, as is southern Lebanon. When the last census was taken, the Christians as a whole claimed a slight majority over the Mohammedans, representing 53 per cent to the Moslem 46 per cent of the total. The Maronites themselves make up 29 per cent of the population of the Republic.

That last statement contains a hint of the complex demographic situation. The citizens of this small country, whose total population is a little over 1,125,000, adhere to many religio-political (in reality, religio-ethnic) groups. The Christians are either united to the Universal Church, as are the Maronites, the Greek Catholics (Melchites), the Armenian, Chaldaean and Syrian Catholics and the Latins (as Roman Catholics are called in the East); or are independent, like the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox and the Jacobites. The Moslems are divided into the usual Sunni and Shiite groups; to which may be added, if one stretches a point, the Druzes. These belong to a group which is esoteric and eclectic to an extraordinary extent, with beliefs compounded of Moslem, Jewish and Christian teachings, together with historical and dogmatic elements all their own. (They deserve an article dedicated to themselves alone.)

#### POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

An interesting reflection of this complexity was the inclusion of the principle of religio-ethnic representation in the Constitution of the new Republic—a principle which applies to the number of legislators elected to the unicameral Assembly, and to the executive branch as well. It has become standard procedure that the President of the Republic be a Maronite, the Prime Minister Moslem, and the President of the Assembly a Greek Orthodox or a Shiite Moslem. The various portfolios of the Cabinet are also distributed on a confessional basis. This is one solution of the difficulty caused by the inclusion in a small country of numerous atomistic groups, but it has had its severe critics. It should be evident that the Lebanon, politically speaking, is in uneasy equilibrium. Omitting detailed mention of the many parties, one may point to the fact that the growth in numbers of the Moslems (which is expected to continue) causes apprehension among the Maronites and the Christians generally. Nor are the various categories of Christians completely of one mind and one heart at all times.

The Lebanon is a mosaic of groups. The bulk of each of the more important of these groups is concentrated in a special area of the country, but all interpenetrate. Were the country to be split up, no one group would suffice to form a nation which could continue sovereign existence or retain its integrity by itself. The whole Lebanon, for that matter, is so small that there is always before its citizens' eyes the danger of absorption by a larger neighboring country. In joining the Arab League, the Lebanese made sure that a clause guaranteeing the independence of their country was inserted in the original agreement.

Economically, the Lebanon is in a perpetually precarious position. The general standard of living is considerably better than, say, that of parts of Syria. But there is lack of opportunity, much inequality, poverty and unemployment.

To all intents and purposes there is no expert craftsmanship in the country. The obvious economic function of the area—that of acting as middleman and carrier between East and West—is not adequately or efficiently

understood, and those who engage in trade complain of the formidable difficulties put in their way. Outside of the now swollen city of Beirut, there is practically no industrialization and, even in the cities, manufacturing is on a miniature scale. The inequalities of land distribution are such that very large numbers of the Lebanese live at a bare subsistence level. Prices of food and other goods are fantastically high in comparison with the income of the ordinary man. The struggle for existence is reflected, I have always thought, in the overheard and unstudied conversation of the average man; his conversation is studded with references to money, to prices, to food.

In speculations about the future of the Lebanon, one fact is inescapably involved. The Lebanon is a unique country, and it is such largely because of its Christian element. It is the most westernized of all Near Eastern Arabic-speaking countries, and will continue to be so. In respect of the fact that the Lebanon is the meeting place *par excellence* of East and West, various emphases are put on the existing situation by various parties. In a very general way, it is true that the Christians desire it to be an outpost of Occidental culture in the East; the Moslems and the Pan-Arabic adherents want it to be a proponent of Oriental culture to the West. Neither can deny the fact. The contact, with resulting heterogeneity of mind and custom, is most striking in Beirut. The modernistic buildings and the domed ancient structures; the vigorously self-conscious Arab writers and the internationalists; the Occidental dress worn beneath tarboosh or veil; the shiny new American automobiles and the flocks of sheep; the stores full of Western products and the small artisan seated at the door of his tiny shop—these and a thousand other colorful juxtapositions make Beirut a fascinating and fluid example of the meeting of two ways of life.

What is the actual position of the Maronites in this setting of history and milieu? New systems of communication have undermined the wall of isolation that surrounded the mountain folk. Roads lead up each important valley; the autobus and the automobile introduce new people and new ideas, and facilitate new population movements. The radio blares in every village. The summer-tourist trade aids in the process of change and contact, although the majority of tourists are from nearby Egypt and Iraq, therefore Near Eastern. But they, too, have adopted much from the West. Participation in a republican form of government, introduced by France but long desired by the Beirut Arabic writers who were enthusiastic for nationalism before the First World War, has enormously increased Maronite interaction with their immediately adjacent neighbors and with the world at large.

The Maronites are willing to cooperate with their fellow Lebanese, but not at the cost of religio-ethnic identity. They are preoccupied with the possibility of the Lebanon's absorption by some other country, or even by a league. They feel that they would then form a very small minority amid a vast and alien majority, rather than, as at present, a respectable minority amid other minorities. I am not convinced that, as some of them put

it, the future of the Christian religion in the area depends on their independence. There will always be a strong core of courageous souls who would keep the faith. But they would suffer, and severely, and much harm would be done.

In a predominantly Moslem state, the Maronites wonder, might not the situation be even worse than in modern Turkey? There, as I observed at Istanbul, Christians could obtain no employment more gainful than that of a lower clerk; in the Army they were not allowed to carry arms or become officers, until American newspaper protests against such discrimination impelled the Government to permit a token number to possess such privileges. A Maronite in a larger, Arab state, would be a foreigner; and a foreigner the more apt to be kept underprivileged because of his vigorous Christianity and his history of liaisons with the Occident.

With this political outlook, as we may well surmise from our knowledge of the rite-nation concept, go hand-in-hand religious, and therefore intrinsically more important, considerations. Omitting mention of the part to be played by other rites—a part not to be undervalued—the Maronite group is the largest adhering to the Uni-

versal Church. It could well be the nucleus and the center of an important missionary movement among the Mohammedans, difficult as the conversion of the Mohammedans has always been. The Lebanon, one must remember, is the only country in the Near East in which a Mohammedan could become a Christian and still preserve

status. If there is any hope of such conversion among the Moslems, it would seem to be brightest for the Shiites of the Lebanon.

The Maronite Church, therefore, amid changing social and political conditions, is entering on a new era of opportunity, as well as one of possible danger. There are internal affairs that need attention and action, as thoughtful Maronites well realize. But the position of the hierarchy is still strong with the adherents of the Rite, and is even politically powerful. The group is coherent and capable of great steadfastness. Signs of re-orientation from the rather static psychology of the past are not wanting, and projects which involve socialization of Maronite religious activity are under way. And there still remains the valuable function, so well performed in the past, of bearing resolute witness to the truth, of remaining a beacon of the true faith in the midst of a sea of Islamism.

(AMERICA readers will remember Father J. Franklin Ewing as the Fordham archeologist who helped to discover Egbert of Ksâr 'Akil (AM. 4/12/47 and 12/6/47). Egbert, aged sixty thousand years or so, was later brought to the United States and placed on exhibition here.)



# First Ladies have their problems

Regina Z. Kelly

Regina Z. Kelly, a teacher of American history at the Austin High School in Chicago, is the author of a number of textbooks and co-author of one soon to be published by Macmillan. Miss Kelly has also contributed a number of feature articles to various national magazines.

A great many people who are red-faced at present thought moving day was coming to the White House in January. But the old house and the staff probably breathe more easily today. Neither of them likes a change. Some of the attendants have been in service longer than any Administration—even that four-termer that made the Republicans shudder. But every First Lady has left the impact of her personality on the executive mansion of the United States. What will Mrs. Truman do now that she has a new four-year lease?

Much that is lovely and modern had already been installed in the kitchen by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Shortly after the war there was a face-lifting job outside, with two hundred gallons of paint to remove the wrinkles. And did I hear someone mention a balcony scene with President Truman as Juliet?

Whatever Mrs. Truman decides to do, however, will have to wait for at least a year. Architects report that the White House now is in a dangerous condition and is "standing up only from force of habit." Recently Margaret Truman discovered that the leg of her grand piano had gone through the floor of her music room. Now a million dollars is to be spent and the house thoroughly renovated, while in the meantime the Trumans will live in Blair House, less than a block away.

But the structural lines of the house are of little concern to a First Lady when 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue becomes her address. Only the interior is within her jurisdiction, and that to a limited extent by congressional act. Abigail Adams, who was the first President's wife to keep house in Washington, shortly after her arrival in November of 1801 told about her many problems in a letter she wrote to her daughter.

The roof and gutters leaked, wrote Mrs. Adams. Rain drove in through ill-fitting windows. Water had to be carried from a spring six blocks away. There was no proper walk to the entrance nor were the stairs completed inside. But, worst of all, most of the cord-wood had been used to dry the plaster and no more could be obtained. Nor was there a single bell-pull to summon a servant, nor a mirror to see one's self. But somehow Abigail managed. She found that her own lively crimson drawing-room furniture looked very well indeed in the oval reception room, now the Blue Room. The big audience chamber (the present East Room) was a splendid place to dry her laundry, and although Mrs. Adams had to borrow china for her first levee, there was plenty of food and everybody came.

Until the Monroes moved into the executive mansion, very few additions were made. The Monroes came after the British had set fire to Washington and only smoke-scarred walls remained of the President's palace. Fortunately James Hoban, the architect, still lived in Wash-

ington. He reported that the vaulting was good and that the house could be restored. So Congress granted \$20,000 for rebuilding and furnishing.

When President Monroe had been Minister to France, he had acquired some fine furniture. This, with his heavy silver plate, he sold to the Government for \$9,000 as a nucleus for the household. Whatever else was needed to restore the house was ordered from France; so it became beautifully elegant with the delicate brocaded and gilded furniture of the First Empire. A magnificent Aubusson rug was woven in one piece for the oval reception room, and there was a dining-room table *surtout* made of gilded bronze which was thirty feet long and could hold sixty candles. It is still a magnificent centerpiece for the State Dining Room.

Nothing much was changed for the next twelve years. In Jackson's time, the north portico became the official entrance, and the house was piped for water, not only in the kitchen but also for hot and cold showers. But with Van Buren's Administration another thorough overhauling took place. Its main object was to get rid of a bad smell.

At the end of his term, President Jackson had invited his beloved public to the White House to get its share of a 1,400-pound cheese that had been given to him by admirers. So eager had been the response to the invitation that the whole house was still redolent and slithery with the remnants of the cheese when Van Buren took office. The walls also were grimy with smoke, the floor coverings stained with tobacco juice, and most of the china either broken or missing. People called Van Buren's term the "silver and gold Administration"—partly because so many of the walls were hung with gold and silver paper, partly because he used gold dessert spoons and silver dishes. He got much public criticism, but probably a great deal of personal satisfaction, for Van Buren relished nice surroundings.

Mrs. Fillmore's rule of the household brought decided changes. She was an intelligent woman who had been a school teacher, and she was shocked to discover that there was not a single book in the White House. (People were calling it that now, for it had been painted white to cover the smoke stains ever since Monroe's Administration. During Theodore Roosevelt's term the name, by Act of Congress, became the official designation.)

Somehow Mrs. Fillmore induced a rather uninterested Congress to appropriate \$5,000; and with this she made the oval room on the second floor into a library and stocked its bookshelves. Next she installed gaslight throughout the house, and everybody was impressed with the brilliant effect. A kitchen range was bought, much to the indignation of the Negro cook, who much preferred her open fireplace. No one knew exactly how

the range should work, so President Fillmore had to go to the Patent Office to study the model and then explain it to the cook.

It was not until Chester A. Arthur became President that there was another big job of refurbishing. Like Van Buren, President Arthur was a widower and took personal supervision of the changes that were made. He thought the house a firetrap and a barracks, and he did not hesitate to say so. Nor would he even move into it until it was completely renovated. (As he had become President on the death of Garfield, there were no nasty cracks during his campaign about being too good for the house the country had provided.)

President Arthur gathered all the broken odds and ends and had them sold at auction. There were twenty-four wagonloads in all, and souvenir hunters paid him \$3,000 for the lot. With the aid of Tiffany as an interior decorator, the house was refurnished, and from the accounts the joint efforts of the two men must have been fearful and wonderful to behold, though thoroughly in keeping with the prevalent taste, or lack of it. The biggest atrocity was a glass screen that was placed between the entrance hall and the long corridor. It was made of wrinkled glass studded with crystal, and cost \$3,380.

Rats were the problem that faced Mrs. Benjamin Harrison when she became mistress. They had neither fear nor prejudice and boldly invaded even the private dining room. Mrs. Harrison was a good housekeeper, so she had all the walls and coverings torn up in the kitchen and pantries. There were layers and layers of boards and oil-cloth, all rotten and vermin-filled. Tile walls, new drainage and a fifteen-foot range were put in the kitchen. (Incidentally, Mrs. Nesbitt, who was housekeeper for the Franklin D. Roosevelts, says that rats and roaches still plague the White House.)

But the biggest innovation in the time of the Harrisons was the wiring of the house for electricity. Electric lights were being installed in the neighboring government buildings, and Congress decided to wire the executive mansion as well. Even the old bell-pulls were replaced by electric bells. Probably the Harrisons would have been better pleased to retain their old means of lighting and communication, for they were afraid of a shock every time they turned on a light or pressed a button.

The greatest change of all came in 1902, when Theodore Roosevelt was President. A survey made by the architect, Charles McKim, revealed that it was necessary to reconstruct the house completely for safety and sanitation. It took four months to do the work. In that time the interior of the building was ripped out and steel beams replaced the rotting timbers. East and west terraces were added and a new brick building was erected for the exclusive use of the executive staff. The Oval Room on the first floor was hung with the lovely shade of blue that it still maintains, and all the rooms were made light and spacious and were hung in the colors by which they are usually designated today.

There were few radical changes after that. The house today is much as it was in 1902. Complete motion-picture equipment was installed during President Wil-

son's illness, and the film companies sent him a new picture every day. In Coolidge's time the roof was raised and the third floor became larger and more habitable. It was Mrs. Coolidge who had Congress pass the rule by which only colonial furniture could be bought or accepted as a gift. The exception to this is the Lincoln bedroom, and Mrs. Coolidge spent two years crocheting a spread for the enormous bed.

Although the Hoovers made no change in the house itself, they began re-arranging the furniture on the day they arrived. Many of the rooms were made to look like a California conservatory, with summer furniture and many plants. Evidently the household staff did not approve, for one old Negro mumbled that he guessed Mrs. Hoover would like to change the two porticoes just to see how they would look.

The big improvement brought about by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the kitchen. Originally in the center of the house on the basement floor, it had been moved by Mrs. Lincoln to the northwest corner of the basement. In 1935, using funds allocated by PWA, Mrs. Roosevelt employed the services of a skilled engineer so that the remodeling would result in the greatest saving in time and footwork.

The kitchen now is in three parts, with walls of Carrara glass and work surfaces of Monel metal. The ranges and all the equipment are electrical, from a pancake griddle in the stove to a twenty-gallon soup-kettle with a spigot, and a thirty-gallon ice-cream freezer. All the lighting is indirect, so that no one works in a shadow.

Aside from the enlargement of the executive offices and the building of a swimming pool for President Roosevelt, no other alterations were made during his Administration, unless one would mention the whimsy of having a real fireplace installed in the Oval Room in the basement, from which President Roosevelt broadcast his famous "fireside" messages. The next innovation was a certain controversial balcony which President Truman insisted he was going to use for another four years.

Now what will Mrs. Truman do when the House is strong and sturdy again and her residence at Blair House is over? The Trumans, we are told, are simple and informal in their habits. Mrs. Truman used to cook for her husband and Margaret when they lived in a five-room apartment in Washington while Mr. Truman was a Senator. Other than installing a music room so that the President and Margaret can satisfy their respective talents, we can think of nothing she might wish to change.

There are few servant problems at the White House. The domestic staff works a five-day week on two shifts. The last cooks and butlers leave at 9 P.M. unless there is a party, and only one maid lives at the White House. If the President wants a glass of buttermilk after hours, he can get it himself from the kitchen on the third floor, where the Trumans' private quarters are located.

Perhaps it doesn't matter what the present mistress may do to change the White House, for it is a simple, friendly place, and it will always remain so, and be a gracious symbol of the democracy of the country which calls it the First House.

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# Literature & Art

## Dublin letter

My last letter stressed our growing international outlook, and ended with mention of Mr. Richard Pattee. That last point was an anticipation. Mr. Pattee came in late October, and lectured in Cork, Limerick and Dublin. If his hearers were not more internationally minded after his departure, that was not *his* fault.

There is no true internationalism without a sane nationalism; else the very word would be a misnomer. In the past few months our nationalism has risen conspicuously to the surface. From early spring onward, there have been commemorations of the risings of 1798, including General Humbert's invasion. In every town and district connected with those events there have been marchings of pikemen, unveilings of memorials, speeches, pageants, often religious celebrations as well. As I write, Dublin is holding its '98 Week. On Monday there was a procession of 10,000 marchers with bands, banners, tableaux, pageantry of pikemen, United Irishmen and soldiers of Humbert's army. The President and the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) took the salute at the marching-past of troops of the National Army. The trades unions marched in force. Yesterday nearly 20,000 children marched to the Croppies Acre, singing national songs. The National Museum has a '98 exhibition: there are concerts and lectures, and the city is decorated and flood-lit. The Archbishop is to preside at High Mass in the pro-Cathedral on Sunday the 21st.

Another aspect of our nationalism appears in the repeal of the External Relations Act. A measure was introduced yesterday in the Dáil (Parliament) whereby Ireland will become in name, as she already is in fact, a republic. Ireland, yes, but not all Ireland. Six of our counties are still separated from us. Mr. De Valera is touring Britain in hopes of winning over at least some Englishmen to our point of view. He had a civic and academic reception in Edinburgh, huge crowds in Liverpool and London, enthusiastic greeting from Welsh nationalists in Cardiff, and spoke at a great debate in Cambridge, where the voting was 542 (to 236) against the re-unification of Ireland. On the other hand, he seems to have won over the 700 students who formed his audience at Manchester University.

Meantime other activities of Irish life follow their normal course—the life of sport with its frequent race-meetings, football, hurling, with 75,000 people at a Gaelic football final and 25,000 more turned away for want of room; country life with its agricultural and horticultural shows, its point-to-point races, its fox-hunting and coursing, and its plowing competitions; Irish-language activity with its local *feiseanna* or Gaelic festivals; religious life with its missions in all the towns and villages, open-

ings of new churches, departures of missionaries, charitable enterprises and so forth. All these things are normal, but, if on that account less interesting, not less important than the unusual.

This autumn, however, something unusual was attempted—a Catholic Book Week, the first of its kind to be held in Ireland. Except in one respect, it followed the American model. There was an exhibition of Catholic literature in the great Round Room of the Mansion House, including a fine display of French, Italian and Spanish literature. There were lectures—on the Catholic novel, by the Earl of Wicklow; on Catholic Writers of today, by M. J. MacManus; on the Catholic tradition in Gaelic literature, by Aodh de Blacam, and some others. The distinctive feature was a Pageant of Catholic World Classics very finely produced by the pupils of the Dominican Convent, Sion Hill. It was a kind of review (or ought I to say revue?)—with recitations, readings, songs, even dances by young people in period costumes—of the great Catholic books from the New Testament to our own times. This colorful presentation brought home the existence and importance of Catholic literature to a public scarcely aware of it.

STEPHEN J. BROWN

## Return to the planet

Eve would be first,  
Tentatively  
Exploring the craters,  
Turning over  
Stones bearing fossils  
Of fingers and clover,  
No man, no woman—  
Only the rubble  
Over the earth  
That she brought to trouble,  
Finding strange currents  
Alienly active  
Still in the pebbles,  
In the refractive  
Water and sand  
And crumbling stones  
Where crumpled tanks  
And ashen bones  
Of dinosaurs  
Make common mortar.

Others would come—  
Solicitous Martha,  
And Mary the spendthrift,  
And Mary the Mother,  
Jacob and Joseph,  
Long-suffering Sarah,

Thomas the sage,  
And many another,  
Bricklayers, saying,  
"If we built over. . ."  
Husbandmen, thinking  
Of plowshare and harrow,  
Some of them sorrowing,  
All of them willing  
Now to have ceased  
Their droving and tilling,  
Going as twilight  
Softened the edges  
Of broken skyline  
And cañon ledges  
Back to their timeless  
Luminous heaven.

Alone Eve would linger.  
Feeling the leaven  
Of energy pulsing  
Through the confusion,  
She would remember,

"So through the multitude,  
Sinning, repenting,  
In every aeon,  
Through every place  
Wracked by my evil,  
Alienly grace  
Crept through the veins,  
Sought out the marrow,  
Until eternity  
Bloomed from the narrow  
Confines of time. . ."

Eve would be last,  
Gratefully going  
Heavenward past  
The grim tree of knowing,  
The tree of life  
Frustate of giving,  
Absolved and lowly,  
Agelessly holy,  
To the Life of all Living.

SISTER MARY IRMA, B.V.M.

## Books

### Cure for a sick land

CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

By Gerald F. Winfield. Sloane Associates. 429p. \$5

### CHANGING CHINA

By Harrison Forman. Crown. 315p. \$4

At a time when China is in the throes of the worst crisis in its centuries-old history, these two books should serve to provide interested Americans with a new perspective as they view the life-and-death struggle being waged by the Kuomintang and the Communists. Since the outcome of this titanic contest is bound to have repercussions upon the future of the United States and indeed upon the whole world, we need all the useful information we can acquire to help us find answers to the perplexing problem of "what to do about China."

While there can be little doubt that Mr. Forman's factual account of China past and present is a useful contribution to the layman's store of information about that country, it cannot begin to compare with the work of Dr. Winfield. With the important exception of the latter's strong views on birth-control by means of contraception, his is incomparably the best book this reviewer has ever read on China. As a research biologist, Winfield lived and

worked in China from 1932-45, and learned that the conquest of disease is intimately linked up with agricultural, social, cultural, educational, industrial and political changes, which themselves are closely interdependent.

The thesis developed by Winfield in this remarkable book is that China is a highly important key to world peace, because the basic struggles in the contemporary world focus there as nowhere else. To him, these struggles are based on the cultural battle to extend the industrial revolution to include all the earth's peoples, and the political strife to determine which of the competing systems will govern the modernized world.

The first half of Winfield's book is spent in describing China as she is. Here the author has succeeded in revealing a first-hand understanding of that country's language and people by means of a most competent survey of Chinese culture, geography, industry, agriculture, economy, resources, health, education and government. The net result is a picture of a gigantic, ancient and frequently discouraging land, bogged down in problems which frequently aggravate one another, and yet populated by a people whose patience is almost beyond belief. The reader may argue that no authority, however able, is competent to do justice to such a canvas. To such an objection, one can only say that Dr. Winfield has come about as close as a human being can.

The rest of the volume is devoted to the presentation of a sensible set of criteria for re-making the life of China, by outlining in detail the problems to be solved and suggesting concrete ways

and means of accomplishing these objectives. It must again be noted that not only Catholics, but countless other men of good will, will take exception to his positive views about contraception as a *sine qua non* for checking China's teeming over-population. In this one instance, Winfield is clearly on weak grounds.

Elsewhere, as the author contemplates China's aggravated problems and offers plans for solving them, his arguments rest on somewhat more firm foundations. Even in the population question, he admits that his radical proposals fly in the face of the Chinese family. He seeks to overcome this formidable obstacle, however, by remarking that the Chinese are so practical that if they can only be shown the "benefits" birth-control would bring, they would compromise with their historical traditions—a somewhat dubious conclusion.

As valuable as his earlier chapters are, it is the final chapter, "The Challenge of China," which must be awarded the accolade by one who has any doubt whatsoever about which side merits sympathy and support in the sanguinary civil strife now ostensibly approaching the climactic stage. Here the reader is shown the true character of the Communists, their methods and their goals. To begin with, the Communists "have reverted to the full-blown methods of the class war directed toward the one objective of overthrowing the existing government in China and taking power by force." In other words, there is very little that is "liberal" or democratic in what they are doing. Furthermore, the pat propaganda legend so artfully disseminated

in the United States that tenantry and landlordism are the principal causes of poverty among Chinese farmers is exploded:

Such a conclusion completely neglects both overpopulation and pre-scientific farm technology as factors in the low production per man characteristic of Chinese agriculture. Furthermore, it ignores the facts that not more than one-third of China's farmers are tenants and more than half own the land they cultivate. . . . It is apparent also that, while an equal division of the land would improve slightly the lot of those who now operate the smallest farms, it would not make possible a decent average standard of living.

Despite this fact, it is a paradox that communist power has grown to a great extent on their land-division program. The reasons, however, are clear. In the first place, those who have received land from the Reds are naturally grateful. Second, loyalty to the Communists assures not only land but power in areas taken over. Third, communism has scored some success on matters beyond the immediate desire of land and power through its propaganda program, directed along class warfare lines. Finally, the threat of brutal force is a powerful persuader. The Communists hold to strict account the families of the men they conscript. Disobedience brings swift retaliation, such as the torture of one's family.

A horrible prospect, which every American who advocates a do-nothing policy in China should contemplate, is the likelihood that China will be subjected to a repetition of the mass-murders which plagued Russia as the Communists sought to make their program work. The important difference will be that "the murders will have to run to many times the few millions of Russia" because of China's dense population and smaller accumulations of wealth. This specter is one for the future. Presently, it needs to be remembered that vast segments of the Chinese population are already subjected to great suffering under the Communists' land-division policy.

After having demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that China's Communists are *bona fide* Communists in every sense of the word, Dr. Winfield turns to an analysis of the Kuomintang, which, he shows conclusively, is not a fascist party; and, weak and corrupt though many of its elements may be, is infinitely better for China (and for the United States and the world, too) than its adversaries.

Mr. Forman's book, surprisingly enough to those familiar with his views on the Chinese situation, is a strictly impartial compendium of information about the sprawling land and its vast

population, which provides interested readers with a wealth of information and makes a very valuable reference volume to keep handy. Its usefulness is greatly augmented by the inclusion of some 250 photographs taken by the author. Also included is a brief biography. THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

### *And the party-line fans them*

#### **THE EMBERS STILL BURN**

By Ira A. Hirschmann. Simon & Schuster. 272p. \$3

The publishers call this book "a minority report on United States foreign policy," a description which will re-

lieve most Americans, because Mr. Hirschmann's suggestions would play right into the hands of the Kremlin. He believes that our policy is controlled by "Wall Street interests" which hope to re-arm Germany for use in a war against Russia. It is not surprising, then, that Mr. Hirschmann is pro-Wallace, nor that he is anti-British, anti-Church and anti-non-Jewish DP.

The book is based on the author's observations in Europe and the Middle East as a representative of Fiorella La Guardia when the late Mayor of New York headed UNRRA. But the value of Mr. Hirschmann's conclusions is revealed in this typical quotation from the chapter on his visit to the

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Holy Land: "Suddenly I became aware of a sound that I had not heard since the war—the unmistakable clank and rumble of tanks.... So the reports that the British had transformed Palestine into a police state were not exaggerated." Mr. Hirschmann went to Jerusalem all prepared to see a police state, and perhaps one existed there. But certainly no observer with an objective attitude could see one on such flimsy evidence.

As an UNRRA representative and a humanitarian, the author is righteously indignant over the miserable living conditions provided for the DP's. But he permits his indignation to get so much the better of him that he loses sight of the ultimate responsibility for the perpetuation of the enormous numbers of DP's, blaming not the Russians and their satellites but the refugees' own stubbornness in refusing to go back home.

Mr. Hirschmann cannot understand why many Poles, who either left their homeland to become German slave laborers or to fight under General Anders, refuse to return to communist-dominated Poland. He personally visited Warsaw, and is convinced of the sincerity of the government and its decent intentions toward Poles abroad. Evidently, however, these unhappy people are more convinced by the testimony of such Polish leaders as

Mikolajczyk, who found that cooperation with the Moscow-dominated Polish government was futile.

And so it goes. Everywhere that Mr. Hirschmann traveled he could see only villainy on our side, only good works from the Kremlin and its cronies. He is for peace with Russia "without appeasement" but, since he is so much influenced by the gutter outpourings of Russian propaganda, his solution would be to give the Soviets whatever they want. There may be a subtle distinction between no appeasement and surrender to Stalin's every wish but, if so, Mr. Hirschmann has failed to convince this reader.

LEONARD J. SCHWEITZER

### A leader in Zionism

#### TRIAL AND ERROR: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHAIM WEIZMANN

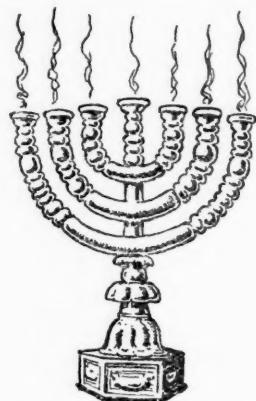
Harper. 482p. \$5

This is the story of Israel's first President, told by himself—and it makes for highly instructive reading. The reader traverses the years which transformed the subject of this autobiography from a young Russian Jew, born in Motol in the province of Minsk, into a world-renowned scientist and outstanding proponent of the aspirations of his people for a national homeland. His education fitted him for the cosmopolitan role he was later to act, as his training was gained in Russia (at Motol and Pinsk), in Germany (at Darmstadt and Berlin) and in Switzerland (at Fribourg). Unlike many others, it was his good fortune to realize at the early age of twenty-four that the adult pattern of his life was set.

The turning point was reached when he left Berlin for his studies in Switzerland, which were to lead to a doctorate. Although, as he tells us, he learned a great deal in the years to come, no basic changes took place: "My political outlook, my Zionist ideology, my scientific bent, my life's purpose, had crystallized." An important addition to this pattern, however, was made in the six years he spent in Switzerland prior to leaving for England, where he was to work so long and well. In Geneva he met his future wife, then Vera Chatzman, a Russian-Jewish girl studying medicine. The tribute which Weizmann rightly pays his helpmate in the long arduous years they faced together is so sincere and spontaneous as to add a delightful touch to the pages of his interesting life story.

The volume is to a great extent a history of the rise of world Zionism to its present place, and the account Weizmann gives of this development is one that could only come from intimate knowledge. He relates the struggles and victories of the movement, its in-

ternal conflicts (which, it might be added, do not yet seem entirely to have disappeared), leading personalities such as the brilliant Theodor Herzl, its accomplishments in Palestine and its future aspirations there.



Included in this tale is an inside account of the struggle which led to the Balfour Declaration and the bitter disillusionment during the period of the British mandate, which saw the remarkable Jewish growth in the Holy Land in the face of such strong obstacles as the sanguinary riots. Finally came the hour of victory, the climax to a career of work and sacrifice.

A most important and illuminating feature of this volume is the parade of world famous personalities who pass in review, as it were, and who are the subjects of a number of interesting and humorous anecdotes related by an author who seems to have been blessed with a rather remarkable memory. The list of these historical figures is far too lengthy to warrant recounting here, but their presence adds to the book's attractiveness. All in all, it can be said that the reader will find the book both instructive and entertaining.

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

#### LOST CITY OF THE INCAS

By Hiram Bingham. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 251 p. \$5

It must be difficult to write a report of scientific exploration in such a manner as to interest the general reader. Hiram Bingham's approach towards this desirable objective is to outline briefly, before detailing the struggles and vicissitudes of his discovery, the history of the Peruvian Indian nation known commonly as Inca.

This name, we learn, was the title of the Emperors of that amazing nation. In his introductory chronicle, which furnishes the backdrop, as it were, for the entire work, Mr. Bingham points out that, unlike the Babylonians, Greeks and Phoenicians, the Incas had no writ-

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ten language in which to record their history for posterity. Hence it was that the historian Pizarro, his predecessors and successors even down to our time, have had little source material from which to work. And this is why the glory of the material civilization of the Incas was only brought to full light when the author in 1911 discovered the "Lost City of the Incas."

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This Peruvian civilization has been recognized as superior, from a material standpoint, to that of any other early American nation. And Senator Bingham's book about the zenith of its national splendor, Macchu Picchu, written more for the layman than the scientist, is fascinating and authoritative.

J. NICHOLAS SHRIVER JR.

#### NO PLACE TO HIDE

By Dr. David Bradley. Little, Brown. 182p. \$2

Apologists for America's use of the atomic bomb in August, 1945, usually claim that it was "no different" in principle—only in size—from the contemporary blockbusters, robots, rockets, etc. which were raining down on German and English cities. They point to the hideous massacre of refugees in Dresden by British aviators, or to the "wanton" destruction of Rotterdam or Belgrade. No one is more critical of such "exploits" than British military critics themselves.

But Dr. David Bradley, a "radiological monitor" at Bikini, where were made the "diabolical" tests reminding one somehow of medieval satanism, tells a different story. The true horror of atomic warfare is not the initial blast which equals twenty or twenty thousand block-busters. The real danger is the filthy after-effect of radioactivity, which lingers on like a sort of supernatural device of black magic, or a long-term curse. This curse, too, is highly contagious and easily spread, and could conceivably affect large areas of the world like a plague.

Bikini, the author points out, was a miniature world, and nobody wants to go there any more, nor will they, for decades. The devilry of a military means which poisons future generations, when it does not render generation impossible, has not been widely understood by an American populace which, flushed by victory, is not acutely guilt-conscious.

Bradley's moderate, scientific approach makes this all clear, and his little book is a true companion volume to *Hiroshima*, by Hersey. A few criticisms are due: Dr. Bradley fears the future, but does not apparently regret the past, perhaps because as a scientist he regards Japanese as so many experimental victims. Little men in white coats can often be more callous than militarists in brass or bigoted theologues.

The author's choice of language is racy, full of naval slang and popular argot; and this becomes irritating as one reads on—there is a feeling that the literary style is artificial, and that the author, perhaps over-studious, is letting himself go. However, his advanced knowledge of Geiger-detecting machines (at Bikini the "G-man" was quite indispensable) and his rather surprising bent for poetical appreciation of the entire scene—the historic *New York*, the ugly *Nagato*, and the really beautiful *Prince Eugene*—make one feel that a singularly mixed and mixed-up character was present on this memorable occasion. People had better heed him—perhaps a few will.

ROGER SHAW

#### I CAPTURE THE CASTLE

By Dodie Smith. Little, Brown. 343p. \$3

Seventeen-year-old Cassandra Mortmain used up three notebooks in keeping her journal from March to October: a sixpenny book, a shilling book and a two-guinea book. It may be a confession of class consciousness or a proletarian mentality, but it is the sixpenny book that takes the honors. There is something disarming about a book that makes you laugh out loud.

If you are ready to give a good workout to your willing suspension of disbelief, look in on the Mortmain family: a father who wrote a book twelve years before and has been in a kind of intellectual hibernation ever since; a stepmother, a former artists' model with a weakness for giving forth with vague profundities of cosmic significance; a pretty sister; a fifteen-year-old brother; a handsome, inarticulate young family retainer—all living in dire poverty, quite the most alluring destitution you have ever encountered and, by all odds, the most impossible. Then—the Americans to the rescue! Who could ask for more than a rich benefactress with two marriageable sons?

This is a venture into never-never land. As it approaches reality, it becomes less successful, falling into a girl-finally-gets-the-right-boy pattern. Its madness is its chief charm. But in case anyone should question Cassandra's precocious observations, her blend of

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naiveté and shrewdness, it might be indicated that seventeen-year-old girls sometimes refrain from revealing their choicest thoughts. Prudence (self-preservation, perhaps) leans toward discretion.

It should be apparent by this time that if you are dedicated to an attitude of determined grimness, this is no book for you. It will play hob with your blood pressure.

MARY STACK MCNIFF

#### LETTERS OF ERIC GILL

Edited by Walter Shewring. Devin-Adair. 474p. \$5

Long before the death of Eric Gill in 1940, his work and thought were centers of vigorous controversy. Today the problems which he raised are more than ever central to our civilization and just as much in need of solution. His disciples have been busy re-stating, extending and applying his concepts; and his opponents have been hunting down logical and practical fallacies in his teaching. The appearance of a volume of his letters should be welcomed by both camps.

There have been those who consider Gill important as an artist, but have no use for his esthetic or social theories. On the other hand, there are those who

consider his art derivative, but who think of him as a philosopher or at least as one who stated in simple yet forceful language such fundamental propositions as "look after goodness and truth—and beauty will look after herself."

The truth would seem to be that, above all, he attempted to be an integrated Christian worker, to join work and holiness. The Christian concept of man as a free-willed, responsible creature was the very cornerstone of his thinking and his art; hence he held that every man should be an artist (without the capital "A"), a responsible worker. But modern industrialism reduces men to a condition of subhuman intellectual irresponsibility; hence Christianity and industrialism are incompatible.

Such, at least, seems to be his teaching as set forth in his widely read *Autobiography* (1941) and in numerous articles and pamphlets.

The special value of the recently published *Letters of Eric Gill* is that they make one aware that his thinking was constantly growing and that it was really more tentative, more complex and more qualified than it has hitherto appeared. No one henceforth will be able to say that he is presenting the views of Eric Gill fairly and completely without taking into consideration this

new volume. How, for instance, is one to evaluate the following:

What I have written on the subject of workers' ownership as on other matters must be taken more as a challenge than as definite statements. . . . It is sufficient from my point of view if I can provoke discussion. The times are desperate. We are in danger of succumbing to mere inertia. But there is this to note: there is a certain method in my madness.

Did Gill really consider Christianity and industrialism incompatible? Did he want to sweep the machine from the face of the earth? Or did he merely oppose production for profit rather than for use? Consider this from a letter:

It's not machines in themselves are bad—it's their use and control almost exclusively by "business" people rather than by those who design or use them. Our trouble is not primarily the *existence* of machines but their ownership and control by persons whose one concern is profits.

In such passages he seemingly aligns himself with what he calls "corporatism or syndicalism or Guild Socialism."

It is not until his disciples and opponents alike take into consideration all the facets of his thought that they can pretend to honor or to destroy anything but a straw man.

Walter Shewring, a close friend of Gill, has here collected some 350 letters. They range from personal family correspondence to formal expositions or clarifications of his ideas, published in the form of letters to the press. There are some fifty of the latter, and they are among the most valuable for removing some of the uncertainties as to what he actually held and taught. The early letters are thin and disappointing but, as Gill grows and develops, they take on impressive power and precision.

The editor has contributed a short but wise and balanced preface, and the book is handsomely illustrated and printed in Perpetua type, which Gill himself designed.

JOHN PICK

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THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY is a co-author of *U.S. in World Affairs* (McGraw-Hill).

LEONARD J. SCHWEITZER is a freelance writer who is currently engaged in the writing of a biography of Trotsky..

DR. ROGER SHAW, Professor of International Relations, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, is the author of *Adam to Atom*, 175 Battles, Mars Marches On, London Naval Conference of 1930, 1946.

## The Word

"I WISH," SAID BETTY, LOOKING wistful, "I wish Our Lord would come to my wedding."

Joe's eyebrows rose argumentatively. "Your wedding? You're too young!"

The wistfulness departed from Betty's face. She bristled. "I'll be eleven years old Monday, and that's two years older than you'll be Sunday! I bet I'll be married before you're out of high school."

Joe rolled his eyes upward. "High school! That's a hundred years from now! I suppose you want Our Lord to work a miracle, like when He changed the water into wine."

Betty grinned. "Chocolate milk would be better."

"Or ice cream," said Joe.

"Or cake," said I.

I knew I was touching his heart. When Joe eats cake, his toes curl up in a kind of ecstasy. He doesn't really eat it; he engulfs it.

He looked at me and licked his lips. "Do you think He would?" he asked.

"Who would what?"

"Would Our Lord change water into cake?"

"Or chocolate milk?" Betty interjected.

I pondered. "He would if His Mother asked Him to," I said.

Joe looked slightly guilty. "He always obeyed right away, didn't He, Dad?"

I looked guiltier. "Yes. . . . But of course the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph always asked Him in the right way."

"Like you do, Daddy?" This from Betty.

I looked at her doubtfully, but her eyes were guileless. A sly grin was spreading over Joe's face. I steered the conversation away from thin ice.

"Betty," I asked, "aren't you going to be married at Mass?"

"Sure, Daddy!"

"And receive Communion with your husband?"

"Of course!"

"Then why do you say you *wish* Our Lord would come to your wedding?"

She stared at me, puzzled at first, then not puzzled. "Oh!" she cried.

"That's right," said Joe. "He comes to every Catholic wedding. And He changes. . . ."

Betty interrupted. "I know! He changes wine into Himself. That's His wedding present."

I nodded. "It's more wonderful than changing water into wine, isn't it?"

They smiled, their eyes widening.

"Another thing," I said, "He changes two into one. Husband and wife—two

in one flesh. That's what the Sacrament of Matrimony does. Then their love brings forth a child. It's like a reflection of the Blessed Trinity. Three in one love. Chesterton said that the doctrine of the Trinity made even God a Holy Family. And through fathers and mothers—His priests and priestesses—He goes on creating new families for heaven."

"Priest?" asked Joe.

"Priestess?" asked Betty.

"Yes. In Christian marriage, the father is the priest and the mother the priestess, conferring the sacrament on each other, and bringing God's grace to their children. Not changing water into wine, but changing a house into a sanctuary, and people into saints."

"No wonder," said Joe, "no wonder Our Lord likes to come to weddings."

JOSEPH A. BREIG

## Theatre

THE VICTORS, produced by the enterprising group of drama scouts who call themselves New Stages, Inc., is a harrowing play by Jean-Paul Sartre, who seems to be an expert in persuading otherwise judicious people that ugliness is art. The scene is in the French underground and, like all the author's plays I have seen or read, the story is a goulash of violence, physical torture and mental anguish. Sartre apparently enjoys the smell of the sewer and the feel of muck oozing through his fingers.

Last year New Stages imported another Sartre play, *The Respectful Prostitute*, and it was their biggest production success. I retired from the prediction business several years ago, selling my crystal ball, Merlin's cap and rabbit's foot for what cash the second-hand man declared was his last offer. Without those accoutrements of clairvoyance, I can see no farther in the future than the next man. Nevertheless, I have a hunch that the New Stages gents and gals will find their second experience with Sartre drama less profitable than their first.

Thornton Wilder adapted the play from its original tongue; Mary Hunter directed, and Robert Gundlach designed the sets. Since I have never seen the script in its virgin language, and also happen to be illiterate in French, I am not in a position to judge how well Mr. Wilder has done his job. Miss Hunter's direction is competent, considering the fact that the meaning of the play is so profound that it has practically no meaning. Mr. Gundlach's sets provide an appropriately depressing atmosphere for a tale of horror.

The action occurs in two rooms of

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an improvised jail, where a detail of Vichy police are giving a group of prisoners a working-over in an effort to make them betray their leader. Fearing that one of the group, a teen-age boy, will crack under torture, the older prisoners murder him. Another conspirator, feeling his will to resist growing weak, seals his lips by suicide. If the scenes of gore and agony compel interest, it is because they are grisly rather than dramatic. Irwin Shaw, in *The Assassin*, achieved pictures of the French underground that were less horrific but more persuasive.

Since Sartre's characters are automatons rather than people, there is small scope for acting competence. Two members of the cast, however, find a bit of substance in their roles. The New Stages playbill being rather vague, I will not attempt to identify them by name. The head man of the police and one of his subordinates who is a sadist are lifted above the level of the writing by gentlemen with a talent for colorful and spirited acting.

**THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA.** The venerable *New York Times* sent Olin Downs, its music critic, to cover this production, instead of Brooks Atkinson, the *Times* theatre man. Far be it from me to suggest that the editor of AMERICA was caught sleeping at the switch; still, it might have been better for all concerned if he had borrowed a music critic for the assignment. Although Marjorie and Sherman Ewing and Giovanni Cardelli, the producers, call their offering at The Ziegfeld a music drama, I have it on good authority that the production is an opera. Mr. Downs says it is good opera, while Virgil Thompson, of the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, is less enthusiastic.

Donald Duncan wrote the libretto, and Benjamin Britten composed the music. Kitty Carlisle is the featured soloist. Agnes deMille directed, and every scene, conforming to a ballet pattern, is either a pretty picture or a composition of graceful movements. As drama, *Lucretia* is less than satisfying.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## Films

**THE BOY WITH GREEN HAIR.** Ten-year-old Dean Stockwell, the central figure in this modest parable, is used to point up a number of social ills. Before his hair changes from its natural blonde shade, he is the unwanted child who is shunted around—since his parents "went away"—among various reluctant relatives who preferred well-manicured homes to small boys. When he comes to live with Gramps (Pat O'Brien), a kindly, shabby, singing waiter, full of improbable reminiscences of his youth with the circus, he feels secure for the first time. Gramps makes him feel at home and even apologizes for leaving a vase where it could not help getting broken. Then he finds out why his parents are never coming back, and wakes up the next morning to discover that his hair has turned green. After that he is subjected to the particular kind of discrimination that is based on suspicion of what is different and strange. Significantly, his young friends accept his unique crowning glory with matter-of-factness, even admiration, until they absorb fear from their elders. Now fantasy rears its head, and some posters come to life to explain that his hair turned green to fit him for an important and difficult job. In attempting to perform this he has to learn the hardest lesson of all—that failure and rebuffs must inevitably be met in achieving anything worthwhile. The film offers a family audience more genuine humor, pathos and charm than

a bald synopsis indicates. However, even leaving the central preaching to be discovered by the cash customers, it should be apparent that it carries a heavy pot of message, using ingenuousness rather than real imagination as its chief prop. (RKO)

**ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON.** James Hagen's play about a crisis in the life of a discontented, self-styled failure turns up on the screen at intervals as evenly spaced as the visitations of a certain species of locusts. The story tells of a dentist who is restrained from murdering his patient—who, years before, had stolen his girl and ruined his career—and awakened to the compensations in his own life by a demonstration of the misery which wealth and the shrewishness of his "ideal woman" have brought his former friend. The versions of 1933 and 1941 having presumably exhausted the drama and surprise of the story, it has been refurbished in 1949 with Technicolor, a musical-comedy cast (Dennis Morgan, Janis Paige, Dorothy Malone and Don De Fore), some pseudo-nostalgic, turn-of-the-century atmosphere and songs and a very broad script which makes little attempt to bring either the situations or the characters to life. Adults looking for an antidote for the current epidemic of violence will find that the resultant hodge-podge offers a placid if thoroughly undistinguished evening's diversion. (Warner Bros.)

**WAKE OF THE RED WITCH** is a rip-snorting yarn about the days when men were men and the most daring and unscrupulous of them plied the sea

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lanes of the East Indies. In recording the deadly feud between a captain with nine lives (John Wayne) and a shipping magnate with ten aces up his sleeve (Luther Adler), credibility is not its strong point, nor is its involved use of flash-back technique an asset. However, the maneuvering of two prime resourceful opportunists over a fortune in pearls, a scuttled cargo of gold bullion and other such trifles should have a grimly humorous fascination for adult adventure fans. And as an extra added attraction the doughty captain, by way of demonstrating his indestructibility, tangles with a giant clam, a school of man-eating sharks, an octopus and a ship poised on the edge of an undersea precipice—all to hair-raising effect. In the midst of such violent happenings the juvenile lead, Gig Young, and the two ladies in the case, Gail Russell and Adele Mara, are relegated pretty consistently to the background. (*Republic*)

MOIRA WALSH

## Parade

EMOTIONAL STORMS, GENERATED by human wills, roared over the matrimonial seas. . . . Whipped up by the storms, social tidal waves pounded at family life, piled high the wreckage of broken homes. . . . In every instance, the crackup of home life had its origin in the human will. . . . In Brooklyn, a husband, desirous of reading the newspaper in a quiet atmosphere, became disturbed when his wife insisted on repainting the kitchen. He grabbed the brush, smeared her face with green paint, whereupon the home fell apart. . . . In Chicago, interaction between classics and comics brewed discord. . . . A wife liked the classics; the husband liked the comics. Despite all her pleas, he would not switch to the classics, so she divorced him. . . . In Wisconsin, rumba muscled in between two hearts. . . . Not long after her wedding in 1944, a rumba-doting wife discovered she was married to a rumba-hater. She divorced him. Out in the cold, he promised to revise his attitude toward rumba if she would remarry him. She married him for the second time in 1946. Last week, she divorced him for the second time. Fundamentally, his viewpoint on rumba had not changed. . . . Here, there and everywhere was heard the sound of crashing homes. . . . In Spokane, the Lone Ranger unwittingly set off a domestic squabble. . . . The wife told the judge her husband spent all his leisure time dialing radio programs. "He thinks the height of

entertainment is listening to the Lone Ranger," she exclaimed. "Divorce granted," snapped the judge. . . . In California, a wife charged that her husband adorned their house with pictures of his four ex-wives, all beautiful. She walked off with a decree. . . . The will to break up family life appears never at a loss for pretexts. . . . In Illinois, a young wife testified her husband played poker for high stakes with the boys, but set a three-cent limit when playing at home with her. "All I wanted," she said, "was the same chance his pals had to win his money." She won her suit. . . . In California, a wife was awarded the custody of the family dog, a talking cocker spaniel named Kelley. The wife explained: "I can't get along without Kelley. He can say 'Mama,' but he can't say 'Papa.'"

Seen in action also was the will to live up to the marriage vow. . . . From Seattle, an eighty-year-old couple drove a 1921 Model T Ford to Minneapolis, where they celebrated their fifty-sixth wedding anniversary. . . . In Quebec Province, Canada, a man and wife, both 100 years old, observed their eightieth wedding anniversary. They expressed the hope they will make it 100 years of wedded bliss in 1969. . . . In Massachusetts, a ninety-year-old wife, on her wedding anniversary, declared: "People don't work at being married these days. They don't realize love is a chore as well as a charm. Gracious, the modern girl thinks it's enough just to get glamorous and be looked at. Back in 1878, when I got married, women were more sensible. We tied our wedding knots with steel then. If a girl found her husband a problem she worked until she solved him. She didn't shop around for another man like they do now." . . . Weddings tied with knots of steel are the great need of the hour. . . . The family is the only foundation upon which a nation can stand.

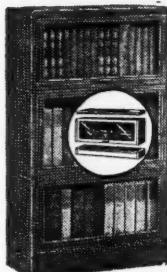
JOHN A. TOOMEY

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# Correspondence

## World federation

EDITOR: As a member of the United World Federalists, I read with interest the article in AMERICA for December 4, 1948 by Edward A. Conway entitled "Catholics and World Federation." The article contained a great deal of valuable information, and I am gratified to observe that AMERICA is devoting space to this important movement.

However, the organization and somewhat petulant tone of the article impressed me as rather confusing. The first paragraph, with its statements that 99 per cent of World Federalists are non-Catholic, that they are guilty of "major heresies" and that they are famous for "jet-propelled logic," definitely gives the impression that the author is opposed to world federation and wishes to warn American Catholics that a crafty organization is operating in our midst which will pounce upon the Holy Father's remarks in support of European federation and misconstrue them as support for world-wide federation. After reading about two-thirds of the article I realized that it was designed to demonstrate that the Holy Father actually does support world federation and to persuade your readers to do likewise.

Probably at least some of your readers may have read only the first part of the article and therefore concluded: "This looks like an involved subject, and I have read enough to confirm my suspicions that this movement is sponsored by a group of radical non-Catholics who hope to induce us to surrender our sovereignty and participate in an impractical scheme which can only reduce our people to the economic level of the people of Europe."

I subscribe heartily to Father Conway's statement that "American Catholics could make a distinctively Catholic and definitely valuable contribution" to the world federalist movement.

Mt. Kisco, N. Y. JAMES McCARTHY

EDITOR: If I may, I would like to suggest a probable reason for the indifference in Catholic circles to the work of the World Federalists, as noted in "Catholics and World Federation." They have exposed themselves to the charge of fuzzy thinking—a very poor foundation for world federation. Evidence in support of this charge will be found in the articles, "What Price Preparedness?", by Cord Meyer, well publicized president of the World Federalists, in the *Atlantic Monthly* (June, 1947, pp. 27-33).

Meyer does not recognize any essential incompatibility between Christian democracy and Russian communism. The objectionable features of the Soviet system are merely defense mechanisms. Russia, we are told, will mend her ways once the "menace of attack" disappears.

Every aspect of the Soviet state which the citizens of the Western democracies find objectionable is indispensable to its defense. The one-party dictatorship, the political censorship, the secret police, and the intervention abroad are all essential to a Russian Government confronted with the threat of atomic-biological war. Only when that threat has been removed will the Russian regime have the opportunity to relax its harsh discipline and to provide its citizens with a wider area of civil liberty and political responsibility (p. 31).

One should note that Russian communism's essential materialism, her atheism, her openly declared hostility to religion, her basic revolutionary doctrine are not listed by Meyer as features objectionable to Western democracies. Yet these are the very features of her system that must exclude her from membership in any workable federation of nations. The secret police, the party dictatorship, the intervention abroad are inherent by-products of her police state. They have been part and parcel of the Soviet system from the hour the Communists seized power in 1918.

What marvellous prescience these Soviet leaders displayed by preparing in 1918 for a defense against an atomic-biological war that became possible, at the earliest date, in 1945! I am afraid that views and logic of this nature explain much of the indifference to the World Federalists.

The international society must be organized, but it must be organized with full knowledge of political realities. It must begin on a small scale and grow. That beginning, it seems to me, is offered in a European Federation, hammered together in the face of the threat of disintegration just as the thirteen States, in the face of a similar threat, hammered out first a federation and then a more perfect union. But communist Russia has no place in this nuclear world federation. She would ruin it as quickly and effectively as she has ruined the UN.

(REV.) WM. L. LUCEY, S.J.  
Worcester, Mass.

## Criticizing the critic

EDITOR: I must protest against Harold C. Gardiner's attack on Lloyd C. Douglas' *The Big Fisherman*, reviewed in AMERICA (Dec. 4).

As I have always understood from my study, a reviewer can only criticize an author for failing to do what he set out to do. Fr. Gardiner attacks Douglas for not sticking rigidly to the facts. Douglas is not writing history, but fiction; he exercises the novelist's privilege of altering the facts to improve his story.

Further, he criticizes Douglas for a style that is "cloyingly chummy." Apparently, the reviewer would prefer a lifeless Christ and a pale St. Peter to a living Christ and a real St. Peter. All those who read the *Robe* will readily admit how real the biblical characters became. Lloyd C. Douglas as a Protestant has accomplished what countless Catholic writers have failed to do: he has made his characters live.

It was a great satisfaction for me to know that the apostles were addressed as "Johnny" and "Thad" and "Joe."

JOHN R. NABHOLTZ  
Chicago, Ill.

## Space in Catholic schools

EDITOR: I am glad to observe from your editorial "More and More Catholic Students" (AM. 12/4/48) that someone is at last considering the present birth rate in planning the needs of Catholic schools a few years hence. But I note that you envision no more than the present rate of increase—11 per cent of the total number of children born in the country—whereas nearly 20 per cent are or should be Catholic.

Already our schools are overcrowded to the point where we are saying to the lambs of the flock: "Sorry. No more room. Go over to the public school." Moreover, if we have any faith in the results of the Catholic Action we have promoted so zealously during the past dozen years, we can expect that a still greater proportion will be seeking admission. What is to be done about the increase?

And this considers only those we may fairly expect to come to us seeking admission. What about the approximately one-half of our children who, under the present system, regularly attend public schools? What is our responsibility toward them? Does the order "compel them to come in" apply only to Holy Communion? What, if anything, is being done for them—other than to push the same system we have found to be only 50 per cent effective—and which, with Federal subsidies looming for public schools only, will have even stiffer going in the future?

(REV.) HENRY D. BUCHANAN  
Ysleta, Texas

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